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THE

CLIFTON TRACTS,

BY THE

BROTHERHOOD OF ST. VINCENT OF PAUL.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE

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John Harvey Treat.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV.

Pages.

1 Religion of Catholics—The Worship..... 30

2. The Supremacy of St. Peter..... 31

3. The Theological Use of Ceremonial..... 30

4. Why don't you keep Holy the Sabbath Day—A Question for all Bible Christians 15

5. Father Claver in India 30

6. How Queen Elizabeth Restored the Protestant Religion 46

7. Why did the Pope Excommunicate Queen Elizabeth 46

8. The Golden Days of Good Queen Bess..... 82

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THE

RELIGION OF CATHOLICS

THE

WORSHIP OF JESUS.



NEW YORK:
EDWARD DUNIGAN AND BROTHER,
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THE RELIGION OF CATHOLICS THE WORSHIP OF JESUS.

AMONG other strange ideas entertained by Protestants respecting the religion of Catholics, there is a very general belief that we have well-nigh given up the worship of our Blessed Lord. The idolatrous worship of saints and angels and "graven images" is supposed to have long since taken its place; trust in our own merits to have banished all "saving faith" in His; and our hearts to be so filled up with creatures, that we have no room to give to the love and worship of Jesus. Such opinion in the mouths of the many is, indeed, but the expression of prejudice and hatred; but others we believe there are who entertain the same notion in sincere ignorance, and more by their misfortune than their fault. For such persons we cannot but feel charitably solicitous, and to them alone are the following pages addressed.

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Of all accusations brought against the Catholic Church, none is more false and unfounded. Nay, to call it false is to say too little. Nothing, in fact, strikes a Catholic so much as that his Lord is (by comparison at least) unloved, unhonored, and unknown among those who are separated from the Church. The worship of Jesus does not merely form a large part of a Catholic's religion, it *is* his religion. All that Protestants can see externally of the Church and her devotions, are but portions of a great system that minister to the grand design of the whole; and they think to judge it piecemeal, and that by a cursory glance, or on hearsay evidence. Is this the way to understand it? If you saw a large piece of machinery for the first time, and without any knowledge of its construction, the impression on your mind would be one of confusion. But should some one familiar with its working come and explain it to you, or take it to pieces before your eyes, you would find that the general principle of the whole and the essential parts were very simple and intelligible, while the smaller wheels and secondary portions of the machinery, which perhaps first caught your uninstructed eye, were but subservient to the

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main design, and had no independent object or action of their own.

It is the same with the Catholic religion. Protestants take up some book of devotion, perhaps directions for keeping the month of May in honor of the blessed Virgin, or they witness some isolated religious act; they see, as in Catholic countries they may often see, some worshipper devoutly placing a lighted candle before the image of our Lady; or they go into a church when some special observance is going on: perhaps the relics of a saint are exposed for veneration, or there is a procession in his honor; or they hear a sermon of which that saint or the blessed Virgin forms the main topic; and they go away, and say that in the Catholic Church they hear the name of Mary oftener than that of Jesus, and that the saints are honored more than the King of saints. They feel bewildered at the sight of so much that is strange to them; of some things they cannot see the use or meaning; others positively shock them; an undue prominence seems to be given to this or to that; and all because they look upon each doctrine and each ceremony as something separate and distinct, and all in all by itself. They do not perceive that, like the

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wheels of the machine, one thing is dependent on another, and all are results and necessary expressions of one great principle, that great principle being nothing less than the love of Jesus.

This, then, is what I am about to show you. Come, let us enter one of our churches: what is it that to Catholics makes its interior so unlike that of any other place? It is not that we see around us memorials of the love of Jesus, so many things that remind us of Him, of all He has done for us, and of all He is ever doing for us from day to day: it is not that we are impressed and touched with the many signs which our Holy Mother gives us of her continual memory of Him, and untiring devotion to Him. It is not these things, though these also have unconsciously their effect upon us. It is His own presence. Jesus is here. Our Incarnate God is on the altar; not in mere figure, not as by way of doctrine only, but verily and indeed, in His own Sacred Humanity, with that very Human Body, and with that very Human Soul, which He took for us in the womb of His Virgin Mother. He is hidden in the tabernacle; doubly hidden; hidden by the walls of the solitary chamber in which He

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dwells, and hidden by the sacramental veils which He has put about Him; so hidden that neither sight nor sense can perceive His presence. Faith alone beholds Him, and to faith alone does He reveal Himself: yet is He there as really as He is in heaven at the right hand of His Father; and when we come into His presence, and when we pass before His throne, we kneel and adore our God.

The Blessed Sacrament, Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, *Gesù Sacramentato*, as the devotion of a tongue very dear to Catholics is able to express the sacred mystery—what this sweet and awful presence makes the material building to be, such is the Catholic Church by reason of It; the house of God, the home of Jesus, of God tabernacling among men. This is the life of the Catholic religion, the object to which it looks, the centre round which it turns—the very Presence of Jesus the Son of God, the Second Person of the ever-blessed Trinity; Jesus the Son of Mary, the First-Born of every creature, Jesus the God-man. This is the Catholic religion—the worship of Jesus Christ; not merely right teaching or believing about Him, or zeal for this or that dogma, however holy and true, whether it be

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faith, or baptism, or even the doctrine of the Incarnation itself, but the worship of the Incarnate, the Crucified, the Glorified, of Him who is seated in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks (Apoc. i. 13). It is the *Person* of Jesus which is the one object of Catholic love and adoration: every religious act, every pious practice, every spiritual exercise which the Church enjoins or recommends, or would fain inculcate on her children, is directed to this end.

Even say, as in your ignorance or unbelief you may say, that Jesus is not really present in the Sacrament of the Altar: what then? You will not disprove the fact, that Jesus is the object of Catholic worship; you will throw no discredit on the Catholic's love for his Lord. At least you must acknowledge that it is Jesus whom he intends to adore, and that it is love which prompts the act. Is it no proof of love, that believing Jesus to be present day and night upon their altars, Catholics are ever to be found clustering around the spot where He secretly dwells? Why should they thus throng the altars, but for the love of Him who is thereon? Why, when you enter a Catholic church, do you find devout persons kneeling in silent prayer before the tabernacle? What is it draws

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them thither? Where are their hearts? What is it that has so fixed their mind's attention, that they seem unconscious of any thing passing around them? What are these souls doing? Whom are they speaking to? They are worshipping Jesus, and telling Him how they love Him, and begging Him to make them love Him better, and to fill all hearts with His love. Or again, look at yon altar: how unlike is it to the "communion-table" in one of your desolate churches! It may be but meanly furnished, for Catholics are often poor like other people, and yet it is adorned: there is the lamp ever burning before it, and flowers fresh from the garden, or at least such as art can produce; perhaps there is rich carving in wood or stone; at least there is the image of the Crucified. Its decorations may denote an unrefined taste, or a want of acquaintance with what you consider the true principles of art; still that altar is an object of care, and of continual care; hands are always employed about it, thoughts are always engaged upon it; and what is the cause? Love, love to Jesus, who makes the altar His throne. The Church ceases not to minister to her Beloved; she still does what she can to honor Him, because she loveth much (Matt. xiv. 8;

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Luke vii. 47). Ah! why are you, a religious Protestant, a professed lover of Jesus, less struck with a Catholic's devotion to his Lord, than shocked at the way in which he expresses it? Why do you scorn him more for his superstition, as you call it, than honor him for his reverent worship of Jesus, mistaken even as you suppose him to be in the matter of his belief? Or how can you deem that Church to be the "synagogue of Satan," and the very kingdom of Antichrist, which makes Jesus so present and so real an object of adoration?

Consider again, what is the one great act of Catholic worship, which surpasses all others in dignity and in the frequency of its celebration, and in which all Catholics are bound to join, at least on Sundays and great festivals, on pain of mortal sin. It is the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Protestants, rejecting the Catholic doctrine about the Mass altogether, consider the "institution of the Lord's Supper" as intended only to commemorate His sufferings in a special and solemn manner. Now, imagine for one moment that this opinion were the true one, I cannot suppose any more conclusive proof that Catholics are innocent of the charge brought against them, of undervaluing, or forgetting,

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or failing sufficiently to show forth, the sacrifice of the death of Christ. The more we love or care for a thing, the more often we remember it, and the more important do we deem it to preserve its memory. If, therefore, a Protestant really honors Jesus Christ more than a Catholic—if, especially, he values the merits of His death more than we do—it is at least strange that, acknowledging the "institution of the Lord's Supper" to be the especial and most solemn commemoration of His sacrifice and death in the way appointed by Himself, he should think less of it, and celebrate it less often, and consider it less an essential part of his religion, than we do. And yet such is the fact. The Protestant, who professes that faith in Jesus Christ, and trust in His death on the Cross, is the very essence of true religion, commemorates it seldom. He who accuses Catholics of trusting in human ordinances, and placing the word of man above that of God, will go to church Sunday after Sunday, and hear sermons, and read prayers, and never think he has omitted any thing essential, in omitting to commemorate that sacrifice which he would have us believe is the very soul of his religion; whilst the Catholic, who, it is

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supposed, forgets his Lord, and despises His merits, and thinks to be saved without the shedding of that precious Blood, commemorates it every day, and makes its commemoration, not merely a part of his religion, but the chief act of worship, and that which it is sin to neglect. Not once at Easter, nor three times a year, nor every quarter, nor once a month, nor even once a week, satisfies the devotion of the Catholic Church, but every day, and, it may be, many times a day, in every church and chapel throughout the world, is celebrated that which Protestants rightly call "the perpetual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ;" perpetual indeed, but with us, not with them; perpetual with us, who are accused of despising it; occasional, and but scantily honored, with them who say it is their all in all. Is this no contradiction?

And now, if this were all, think how much is involved therein; think how Jesus is ever present to the mind of a Catholic, and is made the object of all he does. He cannot be a Catholic, at least he cannot practise his religion, without having Jesus continually brought before him, not as an historical character only, but as a very present Person. His memory

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has not to traverse eighteen centuries and more, in order to behold Him, in the far distance, going about among a strange people and dying in a foreign land; he has but to recollect himself, to recollect where he is, and what it is that is being transacted before him. He has not to make an effort of imagination; he has but to exercise that divine gift of faith which he received in his baptism. He has but to humble himself and adore. Here is the Holy Land; Calvary is set up before his very eyes; and the Divine Victim is offering Himself to His Eternal Father. Or He is again in the midst of us, lifting up His hands to bless; and this time it is not water into wine, but wine that He changes into His own most precious Blood; or it is not bread that He miraculously multiplies to feed us, but His own adorable Body which He distributes to the fainting multitudes, that Flesh which He gave for the life of the world.

And think, too, all this to a Catholic is a life-long experience: from a child he is taught thus to believe in, and thus to love and worship, Jesus. A Protestant child is taken to church, and there he finds little else than words; prayers which, however beautiful they may be, he cannot understand, or a sermon

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which only wearies him. I will suppose the utmost in his favor, that people, men, women, and all, kneel and join devoutly in the service, which you know is not very often the case, and that not only because there happens frequently to be an inattentive or ill-instructed congregation, but because Protestants have a theory that real devotion is something so merely inward, or so very natural and easy, that it may be practised with little external reverence, and almost without any sustained effort of the mind. But suppose the best: I do not deny that an intelligent child who is told by his parents that he is taken to church to worship God, may be impressed by what he sees and hears; at any rate, he will carry with him a predisposition of mind to join in the devotions of others; and indeed, he will be filled with a sense of the divine presence far more vivid than any he will experience in after life, if he remain a Protestant. But what I say is, that he will not feel that an Incarnate God is worshipped; he will not think that people go to church to worship Jesus. He may have learnt from other sources that Jesus is, or ought to be, an object of adoration; but what he sees in church, and what really goes on there, will not teach it him.

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It is not the impression which a Protestant Sunday service will make upon him.

It is far otherwise with a Catholic child. This, at least, he soon gets to understand, that a church is a very different place from a common house, not because once a week people go there to read prayers and hear a sermon, but because Jesus is worshipped there as He is not worshipped anywhere else. The worship he sees going on around him is the worship of a present Incarnate God; there is one especial moment when he is taught to kneel down, bow his head, and adore. The Object of his adoration is before him. Does he ask what It is, and why people kneel down before It, and seem to be in awe of It so much? he is told that It is Jesus, his God; that at the word of consecration He descends from heaven upon the altar, and offers to His Eternal Father the tremendous sacrifice of His Body and Blood. It is not merely that he is taught, as a kind of sacred lesson, that Jesus must be worshipped, but he learns to adore Him, then and there, as his Incarnate God.

But not at church only, and on solemn occasions, does he learn to worship Jesus; he cannot help but think of Him at home, and many

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times a day. He sees Him, as it were, continually; he may be said even to live with Him: now how is this? It is that the Catholic Church is indefatigable in the means she employs for keeping Jesus ever before our minds, and these means are so simple and natural as to be peculiarly adapted to a child's intelligence. The Catholic, leaving with regret the presence of his Lord, surrounds himself at home with the vivid representations of Him. The child can never forget the person of Jesus; nay, he remembers not when he first began to know and love Him. He has always seen about him holy images and pictures, which recall the memory of Him who is the centre of love in a Catholic family, as well as in a Catholic church. Nor do these images and pictures recall His memory only: they represent His Person; they are the dear objects of the child's young affections. He salutes them lying down to rest at night, and waking in the morning. He is taught to take the crucifix in his little hands, and address to it words of childish tenderness and love. He is taught to talk to Jesus. Jesus is near his bed, blessing his slumbers. He hangs bleeding on the cross when the family assemble for prayer. Nor is this all; the child

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is taught, or allowed,—for Catholic children are not slow in inventing sweet devices to show their love to their Saviour,—to make his own little altar, where he places the Infant God in His Mother's arms. He surrounds Him with those He loves, brings flowers to give to the Child Jesus with Mary His Mother, and keeps festive days in their honor. Thus is Jesus as real a Person to him, and as present too, as any of the dearest friends with whom he lives; Jesus, not an imaginary sacred character, but the Divine Child whose Mother is Mary, and His foster-father, Joseph; the Man of sorrows hanging on His cross, still with His Virgin Mother near Him, and Mary Magdalen, and the beloved St. John; the Lover of men reigning in heaven among His saints and angels, but, O mystery of love! still tabernacling with His people.

That which the Church begins in childhood she matures in later years. These sensible representations of the Infancy and Sufferings of Jesus a habit of meditation graves upon the heart. The mind indeed is naturally disposed to meditation on those objects which it loves, and which are constantly present to it; but this is not sufficient. The Catholic Church

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cultivates and trains this disposition; she reduces meditation to a system and a practice, for she considers it as the very soul of the spiritual life. As she directs the minds of her children to the use of prayer, so would she have them, according to their leisure and capacity, give some time every day to that dwelling upon the thought of Jesus, that constant realization of His life and death, which nourishes the love of Him in our hearts, and stirs us up to the imitation of Him in our lives; for the Church has ever this practical end in view. The exercise of the intellect and of the affections is not to be a mere mental luxury; it is the will which is to be excited to form good resolutions, that so we may live in the flesh the life of Him who died for us. She would have us then take our Lord's life and sufferings by parts, and by exercising our affections upon them, grow into an intimate familiarity with their minutest details. Such is Catholic meditation. Is this a discipline which makes us forget our Lord? Can any continue daily thus to think of Jesus, and fail to love Him? Rather, as meditation gets to be a habit of the soul, will not love become a habit too?

But Protestants will say, perhaps, that they

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also meditate, and that it is an easy thing to do so, especially for gentle and thoughtful minds, and at particular times when they are in a humor for it. This, however, is mere natural meditation; meditation as the Church would have it is a very different thing. To meditate when we are not in the humor, and upon a set subject, and to persevere in this regularly day by day, is no easy task. Now it is very plain that Protestants are never taught in private any such systematic practice, nor in the character of their public worship is there any thing calculated to call it forth; whereas we cannot open a Catholic prayer-book without finding, not one, but many kinds of devotion formed on the principle of meditation, and of a nature wholly unknown among Protestants. The Rosary, which is in use with all classes, is nothing but a continued meditation on the chief mysteries of our blessed Lord's life, combined with vocal prayer. Again: there are other devotions, such as to the Holy Name of Jesus, to His Divine Infancy, to His Sacred Heart, to His Five Wounds, to His Precious Blood, which, when they do not offend, at least seem singular and startling to them, because they are not accustomed to any continued and detailed con-

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sideration of our Lord's humiliation and passion; and partly, I must add, from a deeper cause, because they do not realize the great mystery of the Incarnation, God made man. They do not, in fact, know Jesus. Or, again, there are festivals in our calendar which must certainly sound strange to Protestants; such as those on the successive Fridays of Lent in honor of our Lord's Prayer and Agony in the Garden, the Crown of Thorns, the Spear and Nails, and the Holy Winding-sheet. A Protestant looks upon these as childish; he sees no meaning in them. Yet he might see that the meaning is much love; that to one who loves, each point of the Passion of Christ is so dear, each hour of suffering so steeped in its own fulness, that his heart is not large enough to hold it all at once; but he lingers over each detail with renewed tenderness, and counts each drop that falls from the wounds of his suffering Lord, and dwells on each fresh circumstance of that exceeding agony, and finds in each enough to think upon and to adore. If Jesus suffered all these things separately, and suffered them for us, shall not we meditate upon them separately?

The great daily act of Catholic worship, the

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Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, itself furnishes a wide field and school for meditation. The whole idea of it, as I have said, is different from that of common prayer: not but that Mass is common prayer in its highest sense, since the prayers of all present meet in one centre, our Incarnate God come down upon our altars; but it is something higher also. A great act is going on, of which the Catholic worshipper may either follow the details as the priest proceeds with the sacrifice, or he may allow free scope to his devout meditations, keeping to no particular words or system: just as might have been the case with different persons present at the tremendous scene on Calvary. One might have been filled with compassion for the sufferings of His Saviour; another absorbed in the contemplation of the love with which the Son of God was giving Himself for the world; another stricken at heart by the thought of his own sins, thus laid on the innocent Lamb of God; another, in the intenseness of his love, uniting the grief of his own soul with his Lord's bitter torments. Different might have been the thoughts of the beloved disciple to those of Mary Magdalen, or of the other devout women at the foot of the

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cross; but whatever might be that difference, they were all engaged in one common object—all were meditating on Jesus crucified.

But not content with her daily sacrifice, at once real and commemorative, the Church is jealous lest her children should forget the sufferings of her Spouse, and multiplies her memorials of Him. Let a Protestant enter any of our principal churches, and he will see hanging, at stated intervals, fourteen pictures, all of them depicting some incident in the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ. Beginning with His condemnation, they end with His entombment, and trace step by step His way to Calvary, as He bore the weight of the heavy cross. One who has no idea of employing pictures save for ornament, might wonder what was the purpose of them, particularly as they might not always be such as claimed his admiration as specimens of art. But let him happen to enter the church when the devotion of the "Stations" is going on, what will he see? A group of persons of all ages and all ranks are moving slowly from one of these pictures or "stations" to another. At each a few simple words of meditation are read by him who leads the group, calling upon both himself and them

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to consider Jesus at that moment of suffering represented before their eyes, and then a prayer follows, and then a pause. All are kneeling on the stone floor of the church—say rather they are kneeling on the blood-stained traces of their Saviour's feet. It is the "Way of the Cross," the path to Calvary, to the Hill of Sorrows, that they are following, and worshipping and weeping as they go. And now they rise and continue their way, and you hear a sweet soft hymn: it is a remembrance of Her who first trod this holy way with the sword of grief in her soul. Who that loves the Son can forget the Mother's sorrows? In Catholic countries, where men are not ashamed of Jesus, nor afraid to show Him honor save within the shelter and concealment of four walls, you will see these stations with figures often as large as life erected on some hill, with a Calvary, as it is called, at the summit—that is, Jesus hanging on His cross between the two thieves. The Protestant tourist turns with a cold sneer from the life-like representation,—too life-like for his shadowy and vague belief,—or from the sight of the poor peasant who, setting down his burden, pauses and kneels on his way up the steep ascent; and he mutters an expression of disgust at the

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coarse execution of the figures, or gives vent to an exclamation of pity at the superstition of the poor Catholic, while he thanks God that he is not as other men are, and that he was born in the full blaze of Gospel light! So little does he understand of the love of Jesus, that its most natural expressions are to him an unknown and a distasteful language.

But it is in her annual commemoration of the Passion of Jesus that the Church peculiarly displays the depth of her love. I have already spoken of the Fridays in Lent, in which she brings the very instruments of her Lord's sufferings, singly, one by one, before our minds, suspending them, as it were, as sorrowful tokens along the road to Calvary, whither she is leading us through all the forty days. But this is not enough: she provides a special week of preparation, a week effaced from the memory of Protestants, who, in very forgetfulness, have transferred its name to that which the Church, throughout all ages, has styled pre-eminently Holy Week. Thus would the Church deepen in the hearts of her children a sense of her Lord's sufferings; she would have them dwell in meditation on every sorrowful detail of His Passion, that they may be prepared to behold

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it, as it were, enacted, and in a manner dramatized before their eyes in the functions of Holy Week. Indeed, it is customary in places to stir up the devotion of the faithful by sermons directed to that end, hence called expressly the "Preaching of the Passion." Then follows the "Week of Weeks;" and ah, if I could give you the faintest idea of what those seven days are to one who has devoutly followed the path we have been tracing! Nothing but personal experience as a child of Holy Church can teach you. I will only bid you think what it would have been to be present as an eye-witness of Jesus' sufferings in the Garden of Gethsemani, in the house of Annas, before the tribunal of Caiphas, in the palace of Pilate, and the hall of Herod; what it would have been to see Him scourged at the pillar, crowned with thorns, carrying His cross amidst the jeering rabble through the streets of Jerusalem, and then to watch Him die for three long hours upon the cross; to behold His sacred Body laid in the arms of His sorrowful Mother, and then borne to the tomb. When it is possible, the very three hours during which Jesus hung upon the cross are made the subject of a special service. The cross is erected in the sight of all the peo-

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ple, and at intervals the preacher simply narrates in the way of meditation the progress of the great act on which the thoughts of all are fixed, and which the instructions and the preaching of the preceding week have prepared them feelingly to realize. Such is Holy Week: it is to be with Jesus in His Passion—it is, in very literal truth, for seven days to "know nothing but Jesus, and Him crucified." But even to one who views them from without, if only he be of an humble and religious spirit, the functions of this week, and the evident reality with which Catholics regard them, must be a solemn and a striking spectacle; at least, remembering how he has himself been taught to commemorate the Passion one day probably in the whole year, when he attended prayers and a sermon on Good-Friday morning, with nothing to distinguish it from any other day, save perhaps the black covering on pulpit and communion-table, a solitary remnant of Catholic tradition, he will have cause to doubt whether Protestants love Jesus as in theory they assume they do.

I might instance also the custom of going pilgrimages to holy places, and the veneration with which Catholics preserve and honor the wood of the true cross, the nails which pierced

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the hands and feet of their adorable Lord, and other such-like precious relics, which the affectionate devotion of the faithful has handed down even to our own days. Protestants not only regard all this with utter incredulity, but despise and condemn the feelings which prompt such devotion, even on the supposition of the traditions on which it rests being genuine. And perhaps you will tell me that all these things are outward formalities, and are worthless without the love of Jesus in the heart. I answer, that no Catholic pretends to assert the contrary. But what right have you to infer that they are mere outward formalities? You do not judge thus, nay, you do not act thus, in the matter of human affection. How are you affected towards one you love? He is ever in your thoughts; you delight to dwell upon his actions and his words; the veriest trifles assume a value if connected with him: a picture, however rude, if it do but remind you of him, objects which he has touched, places where he has been; and if he be taken from you, these things become relics and memorials of him, and acquire a more touching and almost sacred character in your eyes. The world does not deem such ways extravagant or foolish, least of all

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does it think them void of love. Now, why should its reasoning be utterly reversed when it is a question of *divine* love, especially when you reflect that the Son of God has taken human nature upon Him? The truth is, that at the root of all these objections lies an ignorance of the Person of the God-man, and a consequent incapability of appreciating the expression of love which He inspires.

We see a special instance of this in the feelings with which Protestants regard the way in which Catholics honor the saints, and above all, the Queen of saints. Yet surely, if they realized their nearness to Jesus, they could not wonder nor be offended at it. You do not deem that you degrade the object of your affection by caring for his friends for his sake. The love you bear his child or his parent because they are his, and because they are dear to him, and like him, and part of himself, surely in no way comes between you and him. Rather it is part of your great love for him, which runs over all boundaries, and flows out towards any thing and every thing that stands related to him: the more they are like him, the dearer they are to you. And thus the saints of God, who seem in a very special and won-

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derful manner to be living pictures of Him, and to have reproduced His life on earth,—some representing His poverty, and some His suffering, and some his labors among the poor, and all His habits of continued prayer,—these we make our friends because they were His friends, and like unto Him; we reverence and do them honor for His sake. Above all, His Mother, of whose substance He took flesh, in whose womb He lay for full nine months, who bore Him in her arms and nourished Him at her bosom, who sustained His tottering steps when He was a child, and whose home was His home till He began to be about the age of thirty years, who loved Him so tenderly, and was loved so tenderly in return, Mary, His pure Virgin Mother,—oh, as she was so near and so dear to Jesus, how can she fail to be dear to all who love Him? and how can we wish but to be near to her, to live like little children at her side, and learn at her lips how best to love Her Son, to love what He loves, to make our hearts one with His Heart, and to live only of His life? And this is what the Catholic Church does, and teaches us to do. She so loves and so honors the Mother of our God, that they who love Him not, as we are

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taught to love Him, in their ignorance accuse us of loving her too well. *We* can love Mary, we can be devout to her, without moderating our feelings lest they be too warm, or our words lest they be too strong; we can love her with a love that knows no bounds, because we alone rightly love and worship Jesus,—not man only when He was on earth, nor God only now that He is in heaven, but now, as then, both God and man, one and the same Person with two natures, a human and a divine.

This is the root of all the misconceptions which Protestants entertain about us. Let them once know the Man-God as He is, let them once worship Him as we worship Him, then, and then only, will they understand the love and the honor which we pay to Mary. Then will they learn to acknowledge that the RELIGION OF CATHOLICS is the WORSHIP OF JESUS.

As illustrative of the subject of this Tract, the reader is referred to *The Benediction of the Holy Sacrament; The Rosary; The Holy Week; Corpus Christi; Rites and Ceremonies.*

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PROTESTANTISM

WEIGHED IN ITS OWN BALANCE,

AND FOUND WANTING.



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PROTESTANTISM WEIGHED.

THE SUPREMACY OF ST. PETER.

EVERY one knows that in the religion of Catholics a certain degree of pre-eminence of some kind or other is given to the Church of Rome; so much so, that the Catholic Church throughout the world is often called, both by friends and foes, the Roman Church, or Church of Rome; and we who belong to that Church in this country are very commonly spoken of not merely as Catholics, but as *Roman* Catholics. Indeed, this it is which is made a subject of reproach against us by politicians and others, that we acknowledge our dependence upon some place or power *in foreign parts*, as they say; and Protestants generally are in the habit of asking, with some degree of triumph, what texts we can find in holy Scripture to warrant

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this superiority or supremacy thus attributed to the Church of Rome.

In the following pages I am not going to enter fully upon this subject in all its details; but, in accordance with the plan that has been followed throughout this series, I shall call your attention to certain portions of holy Scripture, of which Protestants are unable to give any sufficient explanation, or rather (to speak more truly) to which they do the very utmost violence, because they do not hold the Catholic faith upon the subject to which they refer.

Now you know, of course, that the foundation of the pre-eminence which the Catholic attributes to the Church of Rome is this: that it was over that Church that St. Peter presided as Bishop, and that St. Peter had received from our Blessed Lord a special commission to rule over the whole Church; which commission was to be held throughout all future ages by those who should succeed to him in his bishopric, just as the general commission given to all the Apostles to go and teach all nations, and to baptize them, was to be held in like manner by all those who should be deputed to execute it even to the end of time. This, I say, is the

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Catholic belief. We reverence, in a special manner, the Church of Rome, not because Rome was once the metropolis of the world, but because it was once the See of St. Peter; and because we believe that Christ gave to St. Peter and to his successors a special commission over the whole of His faithful people, that they should rule over them in His name and stead, in order to preserve the faith in its purity, and to keep the whole Christian family in the bonds of unity. This belief all Protestants reject. It is precisely this that they protest against; and innumerable arguments have been used to prove that it is false. The only one, however, with which we are at present concerned is that which professes to be founded upon holy Scripture, and may be briefly stated thus: St. Peter never received any special commission over and above the rest of the Apostles. Many Protestants, indeed, say a great deal more than this: they say that our Blessed Lord never gave a commission to any of the Apostles to rule over His Church at all, in the way in which Bishops rule over it now; that Episcopacy is as much a corruption of the pure simplicity of the Gospel, and a usurpation of the liberty of Christian people, as

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Popery itself. But at present I am not speaking of these persons. I am addressing those who believe, or at least profess to believe, that our Lord set up a kingdom upon earth, which kingdom is His Church; that He appointed His twelve Apostles to be its rulers, and that the Bishops are the successors of those Apostles; but who deny that He put any difference between one Apostle and another; who say that they all received the same equal authority from Christ; and therefore, that all Bishops at the present day, being in fact the representatives of the Apostles, have also equal authority one with another; none has by divine right a higher place or degree than another. This is the creed of the principal Protestant sect in this country, the Established Church; and it is this of which I am now going to speak, and to show that here, as elsewhere, Protestants are obliged to pass over and take no notice of, or at least thoroughly to explain away, a great many passages of holy Scripture, in order to make good their assertion.

1. First, then, I would have you to observe the very remarkable words which our Lord addressed to St. Peter on the first occasion on which He saw him (St. John i. 41, 42): "An-

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drew findeth his brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ. And he brought him to Jesus. And when Jesus beheld him, He said, Thou *art* Simon, the son of Jona; thou *shalt be* called Cephas, which is, by interpretation, a stone" [or a rock, or Peter]. Then, on a future occasion, He fulfilled this promise or prophecy, saying (Matt. xvi. 17, 18), "Simon Barjona [or son of Jona], I say unto thee that thou *art* Peter; and upon this rock I will build My Church." Thus you see that our Blessed Lord changed the name of this Apostle from Simon to Peter. Now this is not the only instance recorded in holy Scripture in which Almighty God vouchsafed to change the names of men, and to assign to them other names different from what they originally had; and if you consider what the other instances are, you will observe that, together with the new name, Almighty God also vouchsafed some peculiar grace corresponding to that name. Thus, when He changed the name of Abram into Abraham, which signifies "the father of a great multitude," He distinctly said, "Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham, *for* a

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father of many nations have I made thee" (Gen. xvii. 5). Again, He changed the name of Sarai into Sarah, or "princess," because she was to be "a mother of nations, and kings of people should be of her" (ibid. 16). And yet once more, He changed the name of Jacob into Israel, or a "prince of God;" and the reason is straightway given, "because as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed" (Gen. xxxii. 28). All this Protestants believe as well as Catholics—indeed, the language of holy Scripture speaks for itself—yet they deny, that when our Lord changed the name of Simon into that of Peter, or "rock," He conferred upon him any peculiar grace or privilege corresponding to that name, any signal pre-eminence whatever whereby he was to be distinguished above other men; and this, though at the very time when our Lord gave this new name He gave also an explanation of it, "I say unto thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build My Church."

2. But let us look more closely into this explanation, given by our Lord Himself, of this name of Peter. The whole passage stands as follows (Matt. xvi. 15–18): "Jesus saith to them, But whom say ye that I am? Simon

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Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Something of the force of this passage is lost in our English translation; but you will understand it better when I tell you, that in the Syriac language, in which our Blessed Lord spoke, the same word is used both for "Peter" and for "rock," just as it is in French also at the present day; so that you may read the passage thus: "Thou art Cepha; and upon this Cepha I will build my Church." It is impossible, then, to distort this passage, as some Protestants would fain do, so as to apply the first part of it to St. Peter, and the second to our Lord Himself, or to something else *not* St. Peter. It is acknowledged by the most learned and candid even among Protestants themselves, that the whole address belongs to the Apostle; and it declares the will of Christ to make him in some way or other the rock or foundation upon which He

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would build His Church, the immovable stone whereby the whole fabric was to be kept firm forever, and held together even to the end of the world. It is objected, however, by Protestants—first, that Jesus Christ alone is the foundation of the Church; and secondly, that the Church is built on all the Apostles, not on St. Peter only. At one time they quote the language of St. Paul (1 Cor. iii. 11), "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ;" and at another time they quote from the same Apostle (Eph. ii. 20), "Ye are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone;" or, again, from the Apocalypse (xxi. 14), "The wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb." If, then, it is objected to us by these Protestant controversialists, all the twelve Apostles are the foundation of the Church, how can you attribute this title to St. Peter in particular? And if St. Paul says that no man can lay any other foundation than our Lord, how dare you say that St. Peter has been laid as the foundation? But, in truth, it is not the Catholic mode of interpreting Scripture to overthrow

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one passage by another, but, on the contrary, to receive all. Since, then, we see clearly that Scripture teaches us there is no other foundation than our Lord, and that the same Scripture teaches us that St. Peter also is the foundation *in his manner*, and, further, that all the Apostles are the foundation in *their* manner, we will not take the first teaching to weaken the second, nor the second to destroy the third, but we will maintain them all in their integrity. And, first, we acknowledge that Jesus Christ is the one foundation of the Church—the foundation and the founder, the foundation without any other foundation, the foundation in and by Himself. Next, we acknowledge St. Peter also to be the foundation—the foundation, but not the founder; the foundation, but himself founded on another, which is Christ; a foundation not *other than* his Divine Master, but built upon and in dependence on Him;—just as Protestants themselves do not scruple to call their ministers by the name of pastors or shepherds, though Jesus Christ is in truth "the great Shepherd of the sheep," "the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls"—nay, He is even "*the one* Shepherd" (Heb. xiii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 25; St. John x. 16)—and yet, I say,

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Protestants do not hesitate to call these others shepherds, because they are not separate from Him and *other than* Him, but *under* Him. Lastly, we acknowledge all the Apostles in general to be the foundation of the Church, because by their preaching they converted the world to the Christian faith, and brought the nations of the heathen into the true fold. As regards their labors in preaching and the doctrine which they taught, they are the foundation of the Church equally with St. Peter; as regards their power and authority of government, they are so unequally, or only in subordination to him: for as it would be contrary to Scripture to say that all the Apostles in general were not the foundation of the Church, so also it would be contrary to Scripture to say that St. Peter was not the foundation in a special and peculiar manner.

3. But our Blessed Lord set forth the position which St. Peter was to hold in His Church or kingdom, not only by speaking of him as the rock on which it was to be built, but also, under another figure, as the steward who was to hold the keys. His promise was this: "I say unto thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of

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hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. xvi. 18, 19). Now, we know that when a man leaves his house, and leaves the keys thereof in the hands of another, this is as much as to say that he leaves to that other the charge and government of his house during his absence. When kings and princes make any solemn entry into the principal cities of their state, the keys of those cities are presented to them as an acknowledgment of their sovereign authority. We should naturally understand, therefore, that in the passage before us our Lord promises to St. Peter the supreme authority over His Church; and, in fact, we find that the very same terms are used in other places of holy Scripture to denote the same thing. Thus, in the Apocalypse (i. 18), our Lord says of Himself, "I am He that liveth, and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death." What is meant by Christ having the keys of death and hell but the supreme authority which He has over both? And,

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again, when Almighty God commits the government of His temple to Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, He does so in these words (Isaiah xxii. 21, 22): "I will commit thy government into his hands, and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah. And *the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder;* so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open." Observe the striking correspondence between what is here said of Eliakim and what our Lord says of St. Peter; and if we are to follow the Bible and the Bible only, must we not conclude, that as Eliakim, son of Hilkiah, was hereby made head in the Mosaic temple, so Simon, son of Jona, was in like manner made head in the Evangelical Church?

But it is objected that our Lord Himself explained what He meant by the grant of the keys in those words that follow, "And whatsoever thou shalt bind," &c.; and that He afterwards promised the very same thing to all the Apostles, saying in the plural number, "Whatsoever *ye* shall bind," &c. (Matt. xviii. 18). If, then, it is objected, He promised to all the Apostles generally what He here promises to St. Peter in particular, there is no reason

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for saying that St. Peter received any superiority over the others by virtue of this promise. That is to say, Protestants would fain overthrow one Scripture by another, according to their usual practice; and in doing so they entirely omit to give any account of the plain and important fact, that St. Peter received *first* and *by himself* what the others only received afterwards and when all were assembled together. Catholic interpreters, on the other hand, are under no temptation to offer violence to the sacred text, but freely allow its full and proper value to every part of it; teaching us that to St. Peter was given in its fulness what the rest of the Apostles received only in a measure and in dependence on him: moreover, that it is not altogether the same thing to promise the keys, and to say, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;" and bidding us observe that it is only these last words that were common to Peter and the others. The promise of the keys was given singly to Peter, and never to any others; and this promise imports a great distinction and superiority. Do you ask wherein this superiority consists, and what is the difference between holding the

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keys, and binding and loosing? We answer, the same difference that there is between having the *property* of a thing and having only the *use* of it; and this, you will allow, is a very essential difference, and confers a great superiority upon him who has the property. To loose and to bind signify only the action and exercise of a certain power; to hold the keys signifies the habitual ownership of that power. It was fitting that the Apostles, who were to plant the Church throughout the world, should have full power to *use* the keys; and it was fitting also, (may we not even say that it was necessary for the sake of unity?) that one among them should by office and dignity have the custody of those keys. This, then, is the difference between the promise made by our Lord to St. Peter, and that which He made to the other Apostles. *They* have by delegation and in use only, what *he* has as owner and proprietor as it were; the other Apostles had full share in the use of the keys, but St. Peter *in person* received them for the advantage of all.

4. Let us next consider another charge delivered by our Lord to St. Peter, whereby he is appointed supreme pastor and ruler over the

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whole flock of Christ. It was after our Lord's resurrection, and on the third occasion on which He showed Himself to His disciples after that event, that He "saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him, Feed My lambs. He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him, Feed My sheep. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas. lovest thou Me? Peter was grieved because He said unto him the third time, Lovest thou Me? and he said unto Him, Lord, Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest that I love Thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed My sheep" (St. John xxi. 15–17). Now I suppose nobody will deny that to feed the sheep is to have charge of the flock. In holy Scripture, to rule and to feed the people are taken for the same thing. David was elected king, and he is spoken of as chosen "to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance; so he fed them according to the integrity of his heart, and guided them by the skilfulness of his hands" (Psalm

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lxxviii. 71, 72). And again, "Behold, the Lord God will come with strong hand, and His arm shall rule for Him . . . He shall feed His flock like a shepherd" (Isaiah xl. 10). To have charge of feeding the flock is to be its pastor or shepherd, and shepherds have full power over the sheep; to lead them forth to the pasturage and to bring them back, to assemble and to govern them, to punish and to defend them. Such power, then, has St. Peter here given to him over the whole flock of Christ: he is appointed in the most solemn manner—and the charge is repeated three several times—to feed Christ's sheep, that is, to be their ruler and pastor. And this charge is so general, that it embraces all the faithful in whatever place and of whatever condition they may be; for when our Lord said, "I know My sheep," He spoke of *all;* and so here too, when He said, "Feed My sheep," He still spoke of *all;* He made no exception whatever. And on the other hand, the charge is so particular, that it is addressed to St. Peter only. Other Apostles were present, not all indeed, but some, St. Thomas, St. James, St. John, and perhaps others also; but the charge was given only to St. Peter. He it was whom our Lord singled

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out from the rest and asked in a very particular manner, "Lovest thou Me?" And when he had answered this question, it was to him alone that our Lord spake, saying, "Feed My sheep." Surely, then, if our Lord has but one flock, they that would belong to it must recognize St. Peter, or him who holds his place, as their shepherd.

But we are told by way of objection, that it was the necessary duty of *all* the Apostles during their lives, and of their successors to the end of time, and not of St. Peter and *his* successors only, to feed the flock of Christ; and that St. Peter himself, writing "to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," exhorts "the elders" which are among them (that is, the clergy that are among them), "to feed the flock of God which is among them" (1 Peter v. 2). The authority, then, conveyed by this charge, whatever it was, was something common to all the Apostles, and not peculiar to St. Peter. With persons who are not afraid to handle the words of Christ in this way, it is scarcely possible to argue; I will only ask, wherefore our Lord should have thrice required from Peter an assurance that he loved

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Him *more* than the rest, if after all He was only going to confer on him an equal, or rather the very *same* reward, and impose upon him the very *same* obligations as He conferred and imposed upon the rest. I will only ask, unto which of the others He ever gave the same fulness of authority, saying absolutely and without any reservation whatever, "Feed My lambs, feed My sheep?"

Nor is the other objection that is sometimes made against the Catholic interpretation of this passage at all more reasonable, namely, that St. Peter is not commissioned to feed *the shepherds*, but only *the sheep*, and that therefore his right of government does not extend over the Bishops and pastors, but only over the people; for the answer to this is obvious: that these other Bishops and pastors, when considered in their relation to him who is the head of all, St. Peter, can only be looked upon as sheep belonging to his charge; and it is precisely for this reason that our Lord gave him that other commission, saying, "Feed My lambs." He was expressly commanded not only to feed the lambs, but the sheep also; all, without exception, every portion of Christ's flock was solemnly intrusted to his charge.

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5. So high a privilege and so heavy a responsibility as our Lord here laid upon the Prince of the Apostles, required some extraordinary degree of strength, some supernatural support to correspond with it; so that, even if it had been nowhere revealed to us, we should still have felt that such a support had been somewhere provided in the counsels of that God who is "faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able." But in truth we are not left wholly in the dark upon this subject; we read in the gospel of St. Luke (xxii. 31), that "the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." We observe here a very marked distinction between the designs of Satan against *all* the Apostles, and our Lord's special interference in behalf of *one*, Peter. "Satan hath desired to have *you*," all of you, "but I have prayed for *thee*," Peter. What is this but to put Peter for all, as being head and leader of the whole flock? When you see a plant that is suffering from the continual heat of the sun, you do not care to apply water to each separate branch one by one; you

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content yourself with nourishing well the root, and are confident that all the rest will then be in safety, because the root distributes the moisture to every part of the plant. Even so our Blessed Lord, having planted this holy congregation of His disciples, watered the root, that so the water of the living faith might not fail in him, but he might strengthen and refresh the rest. He prayed for St. Peter in particular, but it was for the general benefit of the whole Church. St. Peter himself was confirmed in the faith, and received the power of confirming the faith of all the others; a power which ecclesiastical history shows us to have been perpetuated ever since in a most wonderful manner, in that long succession of Bishops who have filled "the chair of Peter," from the days of St. Linus, the second Pope, down to our present most holy Father, Pope Pius the Ninth.

6. The next point in holy Scripture to which I would invite your attention upon this subject, is the language which is used by the Evangelists when speaking of St. Peter. It is a most remarkable circumstance, which, however, you may never perhaps have taken notice of, that the holy Evangelists never name either

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all the Apostles or a part of them, without placing St. Peter at the *head* of the company. This cannot be supposed to be merely accidental, so to speak, and without reason, for it is a constant thing with the sacred writers; they have not done it four or five times only, but always. With regard to the *other* Apostles, they do not always observe the same order, but St. Peter always stands *first*. Thus in the several catalogues or lists of the sacred college, "the names of the twelve Apostles are these; *the first*, Simon who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother," &c. (Matt. x. 2. See also Mark iii. 16; Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 13.) You see that St. Matthew has here named St. Andrew as the second, but St. Mark names him as the fourth; and still further to show that the order of the other eleven is indifferent, St. Luke names him second in one place and fourth in another. The only observance of rank in which they *all* agree is, that St. Peter always comes first; and it is worth noticing too that St. Matthew distinctly says "*the first*, Simon," and does not say "the second, Andrew, the third, James," &c., but goes on simply with their names; yet St. Peter was certainly *not* the first who was called, but his brother

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Andrew; why, then, is St. Peter preferred before him and called "the first?"

And further, very often when the Evangelists speak of the apostolic company, they name St. Peter *only*, and speak of the rest as "having been with him;" a form of speech which, it is scarcely necessary to observe, naturally marks the person named as the most conspicuous, and the rest as his inferiors; especially when it is observed that it is *always* the same person who is thus singled out for express mention and never classed with the others; I mean, that where *any* name at all is mentioned, it is always St. Peter's: thus, "Simon and they that were with him followed after Jesus" (Mark i. 36); "Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep" (Luke ix. 32); "Peter and the other Apostles answered and said" (Acts v. 29; see also verses 2, 3; ii. 37; iii. 4, 12, &c.). Even the angel who sat in our Lord's empty sepulchre, when Mary Magdalene and the rest came to anoint His body,—even he, I say, a messenger from heaven, used the very same form of speech; he said to the women, "Go your way, tell His disciples and Peter" (Mark xvi. 7). Why was this? Was not Peter a disciple, that he should be mentioned

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separately? was he less? was he more? was he equal with the others? If he was equal with them (and no one in his senses will say that he was less), why, then, is he mentioned apart? If he had no special prerogative, why is it not said, "Tell His disciples and Andrew," or "John?" I know, indeed, that the imagination of our adversaries is fertile in devising various pretexts which shall account for this pre-eminence thus uniformly conceded to St. Peter, as, that he was eldest among the Apostles (which it would be extremely difficult to prove), or that he enjoyed some other small advantage of natural character and abilities, of which we know nothing. But it must be observed that all this is pure imagination; it is not told us in Scripture, and our adversaries profess to go entirely by Scripture. St. John is named in holy Scripture as "the beloved disciple;" so that if St. Peter had really been remarkable for any of those things which Protestants pretend, we might have expected that this also should have been revealed to us, whereas something else is revealed to us about him which Protestants reject. It is revealed to us that it was on Peter that Jesus Christ founded His Church, as upon a rock; that it

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was he to whom He committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven; that it was he who was commissioned to feed and rule the Christian fold; finally, that it was he for whose faith our Lord prayed that it might not fail, and who was appointed to confirm the faith of his brethren. All this, I say, *is* revealed to us in holy Scripture, and, in *our* opinion at least, is very good reason for his being placed and called "the first," for his being named alone, apart from the other Apostles, and for the others being only spoken of collectively, as having been "with him."

7. The same is to be said also concerning the last class of passages which I shall mention from holy Scripture, viz. those in which St. Peter is seen taking the lead of the other Apostles on occasions of general interest and great importance after our Lord's ascension into heaven; as, for instance, immediately after that event, in the election of an Apostle to succeed to the apostate Judas: "in those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said, Men and brethren, ... one must be ordained to be a witness with us," &c. (Acts i. 15, 22). Again, no sooner have the Apostles received the promised gift of the Holy Ghost, than St.

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Peter begins at once, as chief and captain of the apostolic band, to deliver the message of salvation to the people. The other Apostles were there, and were appealed to by the people to tell them what they should do; but it was St. Peter only who spoke for all: "Peter, standing up with the eleven, said, Ye men of Juda," &c. "When they heard this, they said unto Peter and to the rest of the Apostles." . . . . . "Then Peter said unto them" (Acts ii. 14, 41). Presently, the gift of miracles granted to the Church is to be manifested in exercise; and although St. John, "the beloved disciple," is there as well as St. Peter, yet it is St. Peter only, and not St. John, who says, "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk" (Acts iii. 1, 6). So too with the sword of punishment; when this is to be drawn for the first time, and to inflict a capital sentence, it is St. Peter who directs the blow. Ananias and Sapphira bring certain money "and lay it *at the Apostles' feet;* but *Peter* said," &c. (Acts v. 2, 3). Nor is the case different when error and heresy first make their appearance within the fold. Simon Magus believes and is baptized, and then falls into deadly error; and it is St. Peter who says unto him,

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"Thy money perish with thee" (Acts viii. 20). By and by, the fulness of time is come that the Gentiles also should have the Gospel preached to them; and it is to St. Peter that the revelation is first made, as general-in-chief of all the laborers, and steward of the harvest. Lastly, when the Apostles and elders come together to the first General Council to consider of an important matter which has given rise to "no small dissension and disputation," Peter opens the way to the judgment and definition; his sentence is followed by the others, and his particular revelation serves as law to the whole Church. All these are facts recorded in holy Scripture; and holy Scripture, we are assured by Protestants, is their only guide in all matters of faith. We turn, then, to Protestant commentators upon these histories to see what they have to say about them, and we read that all these things came to pass, not because St. Peter had been specially commissioned to feed the flock, not because he was the rock on which the Church was built, and bore the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but because he was a very active and stirring man, "in all deliberations nimble at propounding his advice, and in all undertakings forward to make

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the onset." Can any thing be more flagrant than the wilful disrespect thus shown to the written Word of God, and the preference given to the opinions and prejudices of men? And in all that has here been said, it must be remembered that we have only brought forward such passages as cry aloud and speak for themselves, if we may be allowed to use such an expression; passages which seem plainly and directly to teach the supremacy of St. Peter, and which Protestants, therefore, who will not admit that supremacy, are bound to explain and to account for in some other way. We need hardly add, that to a Catholic, holding the doctrine of this pre-eminence of St. Peter over the other Apostles, and believing it to be an essential feature in the government of Christ's kingdom upon earth, holy Scripture abounds with allusions and incidents which implicitly contain it, but which want of space forbids us to enter upon at this time. What, then, is the state of the case as far as it has been hitherto laid before you upon the whole of this very important subject? Here are a number of passages taken out of the Word of God, so plain, yet at the same time so remarkable in themselves and so consistent with one

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another, that one can scarcely imagine a person reading them with common thoughtfulness and attention, and not being struck by their manifest agreement with the statement of Catholic doctrine which I laid before you at starting; one can hardly imagine, I say, a candid mind drawing any other conclusion from them than that the doctrine of Catholics upon this subject at least is positively contained in holy Scripture; yet so it is, that prejudice refuses to see even in so clear a light. Though in the written Word of God St. Peter ever speaks for all; though he is ever first; though Jesus Christ gives him in the most solemn manner a new name, the name of a rock; though He distinctly promises to build His Church upon that rock; though He commits to him the keys of heaven; though He exacts from him a threefold declaration of his exceeding love, and then gives him an especial charge to feed His flock; though He prays for him and for him alone, because he is to be the strengthener of his brethren; though in the first opening of the Gospel he is seen to take the most prominent part, and the other Apostles follow him, as before they followed Christ;—though all these things be written in the Word of God

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concerning him so plainly that none can deny it, yet he is not to be accounted the head of the Apostles, or in any way superior to them, because this would be to destroy the very foundation of Protestantism; he is therefore to be considered only as one of the twelve, equal to his brethren in all things.

Such is the vaunted obedience of Protestants to "the Bible and the Bible only."

NOTE.—The arguments of this Tract are slightly altered and abridged from the writings of St. Francis de Sales upon the same subject.

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RITES AND CEREMONIES.

THE THEOLOGICAL USE

OF

CEREMONIAL.



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RITES AND CEREMONIES.

THE THEOLOGICAL USE OF CEREMONIAL.

In a former Number of this Series, a few remarks were made on a matter which has perhaps hardly been so much considered by Catholics as it deserves—the *rationale*, as it may be called, of Church Ceremonies. Wholly inadequate as those remarks were to a subject upon which a volume might be employed with advantage, they may at least have served the purpose of showing that the ceremonial system of the Church is not what the more fair-minded among Protestants are apt to suppose it, and what some Catholics perhaps have been inclined to accept as its true description, namely, a provision of which the sole or chief object is to secure respect for religion among external observers; still less, that it is what more superficial or ill-disposed persons have sometimes pronounced it, an arrangement framed to attract the senses of men by an appeal to a childish

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of pageantry. It is hoped that, on the contrary, no thoughtful person will have perused with attention the two Tracts upon Ceremonies which have appeared in this Series,—the one upon their reasonableness, the other upon their substantial use,*—without approaching to the conclusion that a provision so ancient, so elaborate, and so expressive, has its foundation in some deeper principle than that of drawing heretics to our churches, or affecting a competition with the splendors of the court or the scenic illusions of the stage. It may be well briefly to recapitulate the argument of the former Tracts, if it be only for the purpose of showing that it is strong enough to admit of being well handled and exhibited in various points of view.

The vindication of Church ceremonial was grounded partly upon the nature of the Supreme Being, who is the Object of all worship, and partly upon the nature of man, who is to be engaged in His service. In their relation to Almighty God, the ceremonies of the Church were shown to form the best method of expressing the sentiments of homage and affection

* See the Tracts "The Reasonableness of Religious Ceremonial;" and "The Ceremonial of the Church not theatrical."

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which should enter into the various acts of religious worship. It was argued that carelessness in externals is usually the token of disrespect and indifference; on the other hand, that a deep and exuberant affection is naturally, and according to all experience, not merely sedulous, but studious, of forms, even down to that ultimate development or scientific refinement of them which goes by the name of punctilio or etiquette.

The primary reason and obligation of ceremonial are founded in the claims of Almighty God upon our respect and affection; insomuch that its necessity would exist independently altogether of the presence of any worshippers excepting those immediately engaged in the celebration of the Holy Mysteries or other religious office. This appears, as from many other considerations, so especially from this, that every priest is bound in conscience, under the most solemn obligations, to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice with precisely the same care and attention to minutiæ, whether he say Mass in his private oratory, in the presence of his attendant server alone, or solemnize it in the presence of thousands in the most magnificent and spacious cathedral. It appears also from the circum-

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stance of a great portion of the ceremonies in every Mass being gone through out of sight of the people. The same conclusion was argued also from the nature of the ceremonies themselves, which, as all experience shows, have no attraction *per se*, excepting so far as they are connected with the idea of reverence and affection. If *effect* alone were the object of the ceremonial of the Church, the ceremonies would be more conspicuous, more studiously graceful, more elaborately impressive; the dresses more elegant in shape, the *tout ensemble* more picturesque. It is very true, as has already been observed, that the result, especially where Mass is celebrated with solemnity, is beautiful and attractive; but this does not come of aiming at effect, of studying movements, of arranging groups, and the like. No object is kept in view but that of observing rubrics. These rubrics propose nothing but the most correct performance of the work itself. It is just the same in the world of nature. Analyze a beautiful prospect, and of what does it consist? of trees, of mountains, of rivers, of fields, and the like. Each of its parts has its own place and object in creation. The water is for refreshment, the trees for shelter, the land for produce, the gold-

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en corn which covers it for the nourishment of man. What we call the beautiful or the picturesque is derived from some purely accidental correspondence between these objects in their form or in their combination, and some perceptive faculty in our own minds, how far natural, and how far the result of cultivation, or dependent upon association and memory, needs not here to be determined.

The Church, like her Divine Author, is directly practical in all her operations. She aims at doing what is to be done in the most direct and effectual way, and at nothing more. Her ceremonial, when taken to pieces, what is it? Not a dissected map or picture, the components of which have no independent use or meaning, but require to be united in order that their purpose may be discovered, but a collection of details each of which is perfectly adapted to its own object, and has an individual completeness and use over and above its bearing upon the rest. These details of ceremonial are like the elements in a landscape; each genuflection, inclination, motion of the hands, &c., has its proper end, which it fulfils in itself, whether that end be to express a doctrine or to secure a disposition.

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The second, and altogether secondary use of religious ceremonial is founded in the imperfection of human nature, which is incapable of sustained devotion without external helps, and for the relief of which Almighty God has furnished the corporal senses to be the inlets of all holy impressions to the soul. Of these senses, the most powerful in its influence upon the mind and heart is proverbially the eye. Now, under this part of the subject is not to be included merely the general idea of propriety and solemnity becoming an act of religious worship (which a collection of ceremonies has doubtless a tendency to create, and which in itself is an end highly desirable), but rather the inculcation of certain religious truths, such as may be taught indeed orally or by means of books, but which can scarcely be engrafted on the mind and lodged deeply in the heart without being constantly brought before the eyes as the subject of certain actions. To impress these truths upon the minds of others is one object of religious ceremonial; another is, to secure by means of them certain dispositions towards the objects of worship. As the spirit of loyalty is kept up in the kingdoms of this world by those forms of respect which are seen to be

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practised towards great personages in public, so is the reverence and love of the Blessed Trinity maintained among faithful Christians by the outward signs of both in the ceremonies of holy Church. Leaving, however, this topic, which is almost too obvious to need any elucidation, we shall return to the theological use of ceremonial, and devote the sequel of the present Tract entirely to that subject.

It has pleased Almighty God to ordain certain material channels for the conveyance of His special graces to the soul, and it is for His Church to see that the external conditions upon which, by His appointment, these blessings are made to depend, are fulfilled to the letter. This end can be accomplished only, as far as we can see, by means of a carefully constructed and jealously guarded ceremonial. The Sacraments must not be risked upon the chances of individual devotion. The Church takes them altogether into her own keeping, and secures the right administration of them by furnishing every possible protection against human negligence. This obviously the Church cannot do without a collection of ceremonial arrangements, which seems cumbrous, and is actually very elaborate. Protestants, who do not ap-

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preciate sacramental religion, and Catholics, who, although they value it in its results, do not philosophize upon its principles, will be at a loss to account for what appears like a needless expenditure of time and care. But a deeper reflection than men of the world can ordinarily give to such matters will justify the holy pertinacity with which the Church has clung to these arrangements, reckless altogether of the popularity which she might have purchased to herself by a sacrifice of her strictness in this respect.

Hence it is that, in the first place, the Church imposes the most stringent obligation upon her priests and ministers with respect to those ceremonies which appertain directly to the essence of the Sacraments. The actual contact with the person, of the water in holy Baptism, and of the holy chrism and oil of the sick at Confirmation and Extreme Unction, the simultaneous use of matter and form in the Sacraments, and in all cases the correct enunciation of the words which constitute their form,—these are prescriptions which bind the consciences of priests under penalty of deadly sin. But it is where the Church addresses herself to the discharge of her greatest and most characteristic

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responsibility, as the agent by whom the Eternal Son of God makes Himself present on the altar, that she is the most exuberant in the manifestations of her reverential care, and the most exacting in her ceremonial requirements. In Sacraments which, however salutary, and however necessary, are less august in their nature than that by which the Eternal imparts, not His gifts but Himself, to His creatures, the Church is ready to yield, under the pressure of any urgent cause, such portions of her ceremonial as do not belong to the essence of the rite. Thus it is that in holy Baptism, for example, she readily dispenses, in case of necessity, with every unessential adjunct; that in Extreme Unction she is satisfied, under the same urgent circumstances, with the anointing of one sense for all; and that in holy Matrimony, for a far less urgent reason than in the two former cases, she is prepared to reduce the ceremonial circumstances of the rite to the mere expression of mutual consent between the contracting parties. But two Sacraments there are, the one bearing directly upon the sacerdotal office, the other constituting the subject of its exercise, in regard to which the Church never dispenses with the full complement of ceremonies, except in cases

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of absolute impossibility, and then, of course, with such alone as fall within the province of the dispensing power.* These are Holy Orders and the Blessed Eucharist.

We will endeavor to illustrate this theological use of ceremonies from the offices of Ordination and the holy Mass.

The essence of the priesthood is the power of offering the great Christian Sacrifice. As the Church, then, provides with the utmost possible care for the completeness of the sacrificial offering itself, she uses every precaution also to secure the validity of the acts by which her priests are made capable of their lofty function. It is not all at once that a son of the Church is consecrated to the service of the altar; but he attains his high dignity by steps, each of which brings him nearer to the sacerdotal office, although the essence of the priesthood is wrapped up in the last of them alone. But the dependence of the final consecration upon these preparatory approaches is such, that a flaw in one of them might involve either the ordained or

* Thus, for instance, in the Ordination of Priests and Consecration of Bishops, the Church, in pagan or heretical countries, is satisfied with less than the prescribed number of bishops or priests assisting.

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ordaining parties in the greatest ecclesiastical embarrassment; and should it happen that the error were committed in the ordination to the priesthood, it is hardly possible to give a just idea of the mischief and distress which must ensue. But as we are here engaged in showing the importance of a strict attention to the ceremonial regulations of the Church, an attempt shall be made to describe the consequences of any such flaw in the ordination of a priest as would affect the validity of his orders. In the first place, every one of the official acts of a priest thus invalidly ordained would by consequence be invalidated. His consecrations would be without effect, his sacrifices without value, his absolutions a mere dead letter. The bread and wine which were subjected to his invalid consecration would remain (as the Protestants say they always do) "in their own natural substances;" they would impart no divine gift to such as should communicate of them, and every act of adoration paid them would be an act of (material) idolatry. These consequences, fearful to contemplate even in a single occurrence, would be multiplied with the occasions which lead to them. Other Sacraments administered by this pseudo-priest would be equally defect-

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ive, such as Penance and Extreme Unction. Again, one Sacrament may act upon another in such a way that the validity of the second may depend upon that of the first. If, for instance, a priest had validly received every order including the priesthood, but had not been validly baptized, his priestly acts would all be null and void. He would have to be duly baptized, then to receive Confirmation, then the orders, minor and sacred, in succession, terminating with the priesthood. Again, were the form of consecrating a Bishop to be gone through in the case of one who had not received due ordination as a priest, the order of priest would have to be conferred, and the form of consecration to the episcopate repeated. We see, then, how the various ceremonial acts of the Church are linked together, and how a single flaw may be ruinous to the very objects of her divine mission. The Sacraments depend upon one another, and in their turn upon those minor rites which have relation to them. For example, the matter of some of the Sacraments has to be prepared for its sacred use by some preliminary rite, as, for instance, the baptismal water and the holy oils by previous consecration. In Baptism, indeed, it is true that com-

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mon water may be lawfully used in default of that especially consecrated to the purpose; but in those Sacraments of which any of the holy oils constitute the matter, the case is otherwise; in them it is strictly enjoined that the particular oil should be employed which is prepared for the purpose. The officiating priest is not at liberty to interchange them; as, for example, to employ at Confirmation the oil of the catechumens, or at the ordination of a priest the chrism, or either of these in Extreme Unction. It will be seen what an importance these rules must reflect upon the ceremonies of the subordinate and tributary rite.

Among all the rites of holy Church that which is the most momentous in its consequences is the ordination of a priest. The importance of this great Sacrament is in the ratio of all the sacrifices which a given priest may have to offer, since each of these is most intimately dependent upon the acts whereby the priest is qualified to offer them. But as it is the Mass which gives importance to the priesthood, and its celebration is the most august of any work in which a human being can be called to take part, a failure in ceremonial exactitude here would involve the most palpable irrever-

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ence towards Almighty God. It may be said, then, that as ordination is comprehensively, so the rite of Mass is directly, the most sacred of all functions; hence we might expect that its ceremonies would be prescribed with the most scrupulous minuteness, and enforced under the most formidable sanctions. And such we find to be actually the case. Every priest is reminded by the Bishop, at his ordination, that the matter "which he is about to handle is very dangerous;" wherefore he is admonished to "learn diligently from experienced priests the whole order of the Mass, and especially the method of consecrating and breaking the Host, with the holy Communion." In obedience to this command, no priest is allowed by the Church to offer the holy sacrifice until sufficient warrant can be obtained for his competent knowledge of the ceremonies; and at his first Mass he is always assisted by a priest, who is a kind of sponsor to the Church for his proper qualification. At each several administration of the rite, the priest is bound, under penalty of mortal sin, to an exact observance of those parts of the ceremonial which directly bear upon the Sacrifice itself. To begin with the matter of the Sacrifice. He must provide that

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the bread and wine be of the purest which can be had, wheaten bread and wine of the grape, and that each be free from any foreign admixture. So careful is the Church in this respect, that it is customary for the bread of the altar to be prepared in convents, where the religious life of the inmates, and their devotional habits, afford the best security for this important function being discharged with the most exact care and in the most reverential spirit. The wine is generally had direct from Catholic countries, or if through mercantile agents, through Catholics alone; for they only recognize as a moral obligation the duty of providing for the purity of the matter which, by consecration, is made the Blood of our Lord.

When the integrity of the matter is duly secured, the priest must apply himself to the exact performance of the sacred ceremonies. Those which precede the offertory, having but a remoter bearing upon the Sacrifice itself, are of a less stringent obligation, and come under that general law of reverence and religious propriety which provides for the due administration of every even subordinate part of a rite so solemn in its purport. But from the offertory to the priests' communion, the rubrics have a more

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immediate relation to the act of sacrifice, and are consequently of the most paramount necessity. First, the Host is formally offered to Almighty God; here the priest must be careful to say the prescribed words with devout attention. Then the chalice has to be prepared by the infusion of the proper quantity of wine and water. The priest (or his minister) is bound, under pain of mortal sin, to mingle water with the wine, but in a proportion so small as not to destroy the substance of the wine. Then the chalice, so replenished, is offered in the same manner as previously the Host. Then the priest continues the prayers of oblation, washes his fingers as well in token of the purity required in so awful a Sacrifice, as out of respect to the Blessed Sacrament which he is about to handle; then he returns to the middle of the altar, says another prayer of oblation, and invites the prayers of those who assist. Then follow the secret prayers, which have also a bearing upon the Sacrifice; then the Preface, in which he calls on the great company of heaven to witness and join in the Sacrifice. At each step of approach to the consecration, the solemnity of the function increases. When the Canon of the Mass has once begun, the priest enters,

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as it were, into the holy of holies, and is to be wholly absorbed in what he is doing. It is then that he makes remembrance of the living, and of all intentions most special to himself. At length he comes to the words of consecration, none of which may be omitted without mortal sin, and some of which could not be omitted without invalidating the act. The same obligation applies to all the ceremonies between the consecration and communion of the priest, which latter act consummates the Sacrifice. And so careful is the Church about the integrity of the rite, that she provides, in her rubrics, with the most provident circumspection, against every contingency which could possibly affect it. Even her all but inflexible law, that the holy Communion should never (except in the case of the dying) be received after common food on the same day, she relaxes in this one instance; not only allowing but enjoining that, should the celebrant be incapacitated by illness from completing the Mass, or should he die in the act of celebrating, his place should be taken by another priest who is not required to have fasted from midnight. The same rubrics which provide for this contingency, exhibit a like forethought of others by

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which the holy Sacrifice might be impaired, or shorn of the respect which is due to it. One of them is especially remarkable. It supposes the possibility of the sacred Host disappearing, as in other ways, so *by miracle*. This shows how naturally (we may say) the Church thinks of the supernatural; how different from that of the world is her experience whereon her laws are founded, since even miraculous interpositions are incorporated in the body of her sacred "precedents."

After having stated thus fully and explicitly the importance which attaches to ceremonial accuracy in the administration of Sacraments, and especially those in which many persons are interested, it seems right to meet an objection which is often urged by Protestants against the Catholic Church, founded upon this liability to error, which we have freely admitted, and which is, of course, incidental to the very nature of a sacramental system. It is said, then, How can Catholics be *sure* that they are receiving true Sacraments, or exercising faith on proper objects, when the validity of priestly acts is dependent upon so vast a number of contingencies, a failure in any one of which may, as you tell us, be fatal to such validity?

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This is an objection which must not be got rid of by denying the possibility of the case which it supposes, but by showing, in the first place, how many are the *safeguards* by which the Church protects her members against error; and, in the second, by weighing the precise amount of the disadvantage which is involved in the case supposed.

First, then, the whole argument of the present Tract will go to prove, that just in the degree of the evil which the objection before us contemplates, is the amount of the care which the Church takes to prevent it. More she cannot do than to bind not only her ministers, but all who are engaged in the ceremonies essential to her Sacraments, under the heaviest obligations of conscience, as well as by the severest sanctions of law, to execute with fidelity and precision the great trust which she imposes upon them. In an ordination, for example, there is not only the officiating bishop, but several priests, besides subordinate ministers, all of whom are scientifically acquainted with the requirements of the rite, and sensitively alive to the importance of ceremonial exactitude. These are all obliged by the Church to secure the ceremonial, not merely against error, but even against sus-

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picion; so that a reasonable doubt as to any of the essential parts would demand a conditional reiteration of the defective Sacrament, as imperatively as a convicted error would require it to be repeated without such condition. And what is true especially of ordination (the effects of which are so remote and so multiform) is true, in measure, of every single act of offering the holy Sacrifice, the importance of which is limited to the single instance.

But, secondly, in speaking of the ill consequences of a possible accident, we must take care to state precisely in what they consist. Protestants are generally but little alive to the difference between *formal* and merely *material* evil. The Catholic Church holds that it is right, at any sacrifice, to prevent even the latter; but it should be plain that there is the whole difference, as far as the subject of the evil is concerned, between a wilful error and one which is suffered (rather than committed) in good faith. Protestants, for instance, remind us that, through some possible flaw in things pertaining to the essence of the ordinance, the consecration in a particular Mass may be invalidated, and the faithful assisting at it be consequently involved in an act of idol-

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atry. We must needs admit the possibility; but we must also define the extent of the evil. If it imply fault anywhere, that fault is of the gravest kind, since it indicates neglect in a primary duty of religion. And whether it involve fault, or accident merely, it is an evil to have brought about what is only in itself, and independently of any moral fault at all, an act at variance with the honor of Almighty God. But here the mischief ends. Almighty God, we know, will never punish an act in which the will has no part; still less will He punish such as in themselves (*formally*, as theologians say) are acts of virtue, though, in the particular case, misplaced. Rather, Almighty God will surely deal with such acts according to the intention, and nowise according to the error. Should it happen, then, that one who exercised the office of a priest had never been baptized, and had consequently been invalidly ordained, no Catholic doubts that at the Day of Judgment he will be dealt with as a priest, whether for good or evil, whatever sins more or less (if any), may have been involved in the circumstance to which his ordination owes its invalidity; while the faithful, again, who have been unconsciously subjected to his invalid ministrations, will

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equally be held responsible for their use or neglect of them.

Surely such a doctrine appeals, as do all the directions of holy Church, when rightly understood, to reason and common sense. It is easy enough to get over the difficulties which are contained in it by impugning Sacraments altogether; but the sacramental form of religion being once allowed (and we are here arguing, not with those who deny but with those who admit it, while they refuse to allow its plain consequences), these difficulties must not stand in the way of such conditions as a sacramental theory obviously involves. Nor can we feel that, where the doctrine of the Church is understood *in its integrity*, they will be considered even to raise a question, far less constitute an obstacle. The necessity of sacramental religion is a preliminary inquiry on which we are here offering no assistance. Our argument is intended merely to show, that the stress which the Catholic Church lays upon ceremonial, is the natural result of insisting, as she does, upon the necessity of the Sacraments; and that the inconvenience which may incidentally follow upon the stringency of her ceremonial provisions, as bearing upon the Sacraments, is no ob-

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jection to those provisions, because nowise at variance with the essential principles of religion and morality.

Enough will perhaps have been said to justify the position with which we started, that the *security of Sacraments* is a principal reason for the exactitude with which the Church requires that her ceremonies shall be studied and observed. And this is one among many arguments to prove how mistaken the men of this world, wise as they fancy themselves, are, when they apply to the Catholic Church the rules of criticism which serve them in ordinary matters. Foolish and frivolous they may think it to manifest so much anxious care of the Sacraments whereof our Lord has intrusted His Church with the dispensation; that is another question, which we are not discussing with them. But, if it be granted that the Sacraments are worth preserving (and thus much will surely be granted by many objectors to our ceremonial system), we do not see how the end in view can be attained except by arrangements as precise and as binding as our own.

If our Lord has been pleased to appoint certain methods for the conveyance of His special graces to His people, it is not for us to admit

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even the slightest departure from prescribed forms. No objection can reasonably be made against the details which does not also apply to the substance of sacramental religion. If once we allow innovations in particulars, there seems no reason why we should stop short of infringing our Lord's command altogether; for every formal act consists in details more or less essential to its integrity. For example, our Lord took bread and blessed it, and said "This is My Body." What is "taking?" What is "bread?" What is "blessing" it? Each point must be gone through, or our Lord's practice is not followed. How essential this or that detail may be, we cannot always precisely determine; the only means of avoiding questions is to be alike and equally particular about all.

And, moreover, there is something which is surely most repugnant to piety in treating with disrespect and indifference those treasures which our Lord, of His own free bounty, has intrusted us withal. Who are we—who are His priests—that we should deserve to be charged with the custody of His sacred Body? Why does He leave it with us but because He trusts that we will guard it with fidelity? What can we give Him in return, if we give Him not our

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loving duty? It is the only warrant of His confidence; it is the only exchange we can offer for His immense bounty. The example for His priests, intrusted with the keeping of the Adorable Sacrament, is surely that of St. Joseph of Arimathea, who "wrapped the Body of the Lord in fair white linen, and laid it in his own new tomb."

But far greater than his is the privilege of the Catholic priest. Not only is he invested, like St. Joseph of Arimathea, with the custody of his Lord's body, and, like the other and still more favored St. Joseph, made to be "lord of His house and ruler over His possession;" but his prerogative is like to Hers through whom God was pleased to manifest Himself in the form of humility to His creatures. It is the priest's great office and responsibility to make God present on the altar by the words of consecration, so that, in a manner, the Almighty may be said to subject Himself to the will of His priests as He did to that of His blessed Mother. For not merely has He gifted them with a marvellous power of evoking Him into visible manifestation of Himself, but He has made the times and durations of His appearances to depend upon their will. This is a

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trust so momentous, that a priest may well desire some better protection than his own vigilance against the danger in which he stands of misusing it. Such safeguard is provided in the ceremonial of the Church, which is Almighty God's own ordained provision for the respect which is due to Himself. A subject who goes into the presence of his sovereign knows that if he do but comply with the official regulations of the court, he is safe from all risk of reproach. To these official rules his own private notions of propriety must, of course, give place; and he will be the most loving liegeman who performs all that is required of him, down to the very least particular, with the most exact and punctilious fidelity.

Among the uses, therefore, of religious ceremonial, must not be forgotten its effect upon the priests and ministers of religion. It acts as a perpetual reminder to them of the truths which it denotes, and of which, without such external help, they would be constantly in danger of losing sight. Thus it is that the very arrangements which ignorant or superficial persons are apt to charge with formality, are in fact the very means of preventing the worship of Almighty God, as far as human means can

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prevent it, from passing into an empty and formal service. For they are the direct means of maintaining a conspicuous testimony to that heavenly doctrine which is the very life and soul of all external religion, and are as necessary, in their way, to its preservation as creeds and sacraments themselves. For they do but involve a further application of the principle upon which even creeds and sacraments are founded, in being helps, furnished by God Himself to His Church, of impressing divine truth upon the soul through the medium of those bodily organs or mental faculties by which He has ordained that our spiritual being shall be approached and sustained.

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WHY DON'T YOU KEEP HOLY THE SABBATH-DAY?

A Question for all Bible Christians.

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WHY DON'T YOU KEEP HOLY THE SABBATH-DAY?

I AM going to propose a very plain, and serious question, to which I would entreat all who profess to follow "the Bible and the Bible only" to give their most earnest attention. It is this: Why do you not keep holy the Sabbath-day?

The command of Almighty God stands clearly written in the Bible in these words: "Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work" (Exod. xx. 8, 9). And again, "Six days shall work be done; but on the seventh day there shall be to you an holy day, a Sabbath of rest to the Lord; whosoever doeth work therein shall be put to death. Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath-day" (Exod. xxxv. 2, 3). How strict and precise is

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God's commandment upon this head! No work whatever was to be done on the day which He had chosen to set apart for Himself and to make holy; He required of His people that they should not even light a fire upon that day. And accordingly, when the children of Israel "found a man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath-day," "the Lord said unto Moses, The man shall be surely put to death; all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp" (Numbers xv. 35). Such being God's command then, I ask again, Why do you not obey it? Why do you not keep holy the Sabbath-day?

You will answer me, perhaps, that you *do* keep holy the Sabbath-day; for that you abstain from all worldly business, and diligently go to church, and say your prayers, and read your Bible at home, every Sunday of your lives.

But *Sunday is not the Sabbath-day.* Sunday is the *first* day of the week; the Sabbath-day was the *seventh* day of the week. Almighty God did not give a commandment that men should keep holy *one day in seven;* but He named His own day, and said distinctly, "Thou shalt keep holy *the seventh day;*" and He assign-

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ed a reason for choosing this day rather than any other—a reason which belongs only to the seventh day of the week, and cannot be applied to the rest. He says, "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; *wherefore* the Lord blessed the Sabbath-day and hallowed it." Almighty God ordered that all men should rest from their labor on the seventh day, because He too had rested on that day: He did not rest on Sunday, but on Saturday. On Sunday, which is the first day of the week, He *began* the work of creation, He did not finish it; it was on Saturday that He "*ended* His work which He had made; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made; and God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His work which God created and made" (Gen. ii. 2, 3). Nothing can be more plain and easy to understand than all this; and there is nobody who attempts to deny it; it is acknowledged by everybody that the day which Almighty God appointed to be kept holy was Saturday, not Sunday. Why do you then keep holy the Sunday, and not Saturday?

You will tell me that Saturday was the *Jew-*

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ish Sabbath, but that the *Christian* Sabbath has been changed to Sunday. Changed! but by whom? Who has authority to change an express commandment of Almighty God? When God has spoken and said, Thou shalt keep holy the seventh day, who shall dare to say, Nay, thou mayest work and do all manner of worldly business on the seventh day; but thou shalt keep holy the first day in its stead? This is a most important question, which I know not how you can answer.

You are a Protestant, and you profess to go by the Bible and the Bible only; and yet in so important a matter as the observance of one day in seven as a holy day, you go against the plain letter of the Bible, and put another day in the place of that day which the Bible has commanded. The command to keep holy the seventh day is one of the ten commandments; you believe that the other nine are still binding; who gave you authority to tamper with the fourth? If you are consistent with your own principles, if you really follow the Bible and the Bible only, you ought to be able to produce some portion of the New Testament in which this fourth commandment is expressly altered, or at least from which you may confi-

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dently infer that it was the will of God that Christians should make that change in its observance which you have made. Let us see whether any such passages can be found. I will look for them in the writings of your own champions, who have attempted to defend your practice in this matter.

1. The first text which I find quoted upon the subject is this: "Let no man judge you in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath-days" (Col. ii. 16). I could understand a Bible Christian arguing from this passage, that we ought to make no difference between Saturday, Sunday, and every other day of the week; that under the Christian dispensation all such distinctions of days were done away with; one day was as good and as holy as another; there were to be no Sabbaths, no holy days at all. But not one syllable does it say about the obligation of the Sabbath being *transferred* from one day to another.

2. Secondly, the words of St. John are quoted, "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day" (Apoc. i. 10). Is it possible that anybody can for a moment imagine that here is a safe and clear rule for changing the weekly feast from the seventh to the first day? This pas-

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sage is utterly silent upon such a subject; it does but give us Scriptural authority for calling some one day in particular (it does not even say *which* day) "the Lord's day."

3. Next we are reminded that St. Paul bade his Corinthian converts, "upon the first day of the week, lay by them in store, that there might be no gatherings" when he himself came (1 Cor. xvi. 2). How is this supposed to affect the law of the Jewish Sabbath? It commands a certain act of almsgiving to be done on the first day of the week. It says absolutely nothing about not doing certain other acts of prayer and public worship on the seventh day.

4. But it was "on the first day of the week" when the disciples were assembled with closed doors for fear of the Jews, and Jesus stood in the midst of them; and again, it was eight days afterwards (that is, on the first day of the following week) that "the disciples were within, and Thomas with them," and Jesus again came and stood in the midst (John xx. 19, 26): that is to say, it was on the evening of the day of the Resurrection that our Lord first showed Himself to many disciples gathered together; and after eight days He again showed Himself to the same company, with the further addition

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St. Thomas. What is there in these facts to do away with the obligation of keeping holy the seventh day? Our Lord rose from the dead on the first day of the week, and on the same day at evening He appears to many of His disciples; He appears again on that day week, and perhaps also on other days in the interval. Let Protestants, if they will, keep holy the first day of the week in grateful commemoration of that stupendous mystery, the Resurrection of Christ, and of the evidences which He vouchsafed to give of it to His doubting disciples; but this is no scriptural authority for ceasing to keep holy another day of the week which God had expressly commanded to be kept holy for another and altogether different reason.

5. But lastly, we have the example of the Apostles themselves. "Upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight" (Acts xx. 7). Here we have clear proof that the disciples came together for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and that they heard a sermon on a Sunday. But is there any proof that they had not done the

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same on the Saturday also? Is it not expressly written concerning those early Christians, that they "continued *daily* with one accord in the temple, breaking bread from house to house?" (Acts ii. 46). And as a matter of fact, do we not know from other sources that, in many parts of the Church, the ancient Christians were in the habit of meeting together for public worship, to receive Holy Communion, and to perform the other offices, on Saturdays just the same as on Sundays? Again, then, I say, let Protestants keep holy, if they will, the first day of the week, in order that they may resemble those Christians who were gathered together on that day in an upper chamber in Troas; but let them remember that this cannot possibly release them from the obligation of keeping holy *another* day which Almighty God has ordered to be kept holy, because on that day He "rested from all His work."

I do not know of any other passages of holy Scripture which Protestants are in the habit of quoting to defend their practice of keeping holy the first day of the week instead of the seventh; yet surely those which I have quoted are not such as should satisfy any reasonable man, who looks upon the written word of God as *they*

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profess to look upon it, namely, as the *one only* appointed means of learning God's will, and who really desires to learn and to obey that will in all things with humbleness and simplicity of heart. It is absolutely impossible that a reasonable and thoughtful person should be satisfied, by the texts that I have quoted, that Almighty God intended the obligation of Saturday under the old law to be transferred to Sunday under the new. And yet Protestants *do* so transfer it, and never seem to have the slightest misgivings lest, in doing so, they should be guilty of breaking one of God's commandments. Why is this? Because, although they talk so largely about following the Bible and the Bible only, they are really guided in this matter by the voice of tradition. Yes, much as they may hate and denounce the word, they have in fact no other authority to allege for this most important change. The present generation of Protestants keep Sunday holy instead of Saturday, because they received it as part of the Christian religion from the last generation, and that generation received it from the generation before, and so on backwards from one generation to another, by a continual succession, until we come to the time of the (so-

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called) Reformation, when it so happened that those who conducted the change of religion in this country left this particular portion of Catholic faith and practice untouched.

But, had it happened otherwise,—had some one or other of the "Reformers" taken it into his head to denounce the observance of Sunday as a Popish corruption and superstition, and to insist upon it that Saturday was the day which God had appointed to be kept holy, and that He had never authorized the observance of any other,—all Protestants would have been obliged, in obedience to their professed principle of following the Bible and the Bible only, either to acknowledge this teaching as true, and to return to the observance of the ancient Jewish Sabbath, or else to deny that there is any Sabbath at all. And so, in like manner, any one at the present day who should set about, honestly and without prejudice, to draw up for himself a form of religious belief and practice out of the written Word of God, must needs come to the same conclusion: he must either believe that the Jewish Sabbath is still binding upon men's consciences, because of the Divine command, "Thou shalt keep holy the seventh day;" or he must believe that no Sabbath at

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all is binding upon them, because of the Apostolic injunction, "Let no man judge you in respect of a festival day, or of the Sabbaths, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is Christ's." Either one or the other of these conclusions he might honestly come to; but he would know nothing whatever of a *Christian* Sabbath distinct from the Jewish, celebrated on a different day, and observed in a different manner, simply because Holy Scripture itself nowhere speaks of such a thing.

Now, mind, in all this you would greatly misunderstand me if you supposed I was quarrelling with you for acting in this matter on a true and right principle, in other words, a Catholic principle, viz., the acceptance, without hesitation, of that which has been handed down to you by an unbroken tradition. I would not tear from you a single one of those shreds and fragments of Divine truth which you have retained. God forbid! They are the most precious things you possess, and by God's blessing may serve as clues to bring you out of that labyrinth of error in which you find yourselves involved, far more by the fault of your forefathers three centuries ago than by your own. What I do quarrel with you for is, not your inconsistency

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in occasionally acting on a true principle, but your adoption, as a general rule, of a false one. You keep the Sunday, and not the Saturday; and you do so rightly, for this was the practice of all Christians when Protestantism began; but you have abandoned other Catholic observances which were equally universal at that day, preferring the novelties introduced by the men who invented Protestantism, to the unvarying tradition of above 1500 years. We blame you not for making Sunday your weekly holyday instead of Saturday, but for rejecting tradition, which is the only safe and clear rule by which this observance can be justified. In outward act we do the same as yourselves in this matter; we too no longer observe the Jewish Sabbath, but Sunday in its stead; but then there is this important difference between us, that we do not pretend, as you do, to derive our authority for so doing from *a book*, but we derive it from *a living teacher*, and that teacher is the Church. Moreover, we believe that not every thing which God would have us to know and to do is written in the Bible, but that there is also an *unwritten* word of God, which we are bound to believe and to obey, just as we believe and obey the Bible itself, according to that say-

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ing of the Apostle, "Stand fast and hold the traditions which you have learned, *whether by word or by our epistle*" (2 Thess. ii. 14). We Catholics, then, have precisely the same authority for keeping Sunday holy instead of Saturday as we have for every other article of our creed, namely, the authority of "the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth" (1 Tim. iii. 15); whereas you who are Protestants have really no authority for it whatever; for there *is* no authority for it in the Bible, and you will not allow that there *can be* authority for it anywhere else. Both you and we do, in fact, follow tradition in this matter; but *we* follow it, believing it to be a part of God's word, and the Church to be its divinely-appointed guardian and interpreter; *you* follow it, denouncing it all the time as a fallible and treacherous guide, which often "makes the commandment of God of none effect."

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THE

CATHOLIC MISSIONARY.

FATHER CLAVER IN INDIA.



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151 FULTON-STREET, NEAR BROADWAY.

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CATHOLIC MISSIONARY.

II. FATHER CLAVER IN INDIA.*

If ever there was a time when the Church of God was before the bar of the world it is the present moment; the eyes of whole nations are watching her every movement, to see if there be matter of accusation against her; their ears are open to catch the slightest evil report against the least of her ministers: the sharpest intellects are on the stretch to convict her of the least inconsistency in practice or theory, and so to brand her wisdom with the name of folly.

* The Blessed Peter Claver, of the Society of Jesus, was solemnly beatified by a decree of his Holiness Pope Pius IX., dated the sixteenth of July, 1851; and the first public celebration of his feast in this country took place in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, London, on the ninth day of September, 1851, in the presence of his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. The following discourse was delivered on the occasion by the Rev. Father Dalgairns, Priest of the Oratory, London; the text being taken from St. Matthew xi. 19, "Wisdom is justified *by* her children."

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And oh, how royally, how majestically she bears herself in the trial! Heedless of the clamors which surround her, she carries on her every function as though she were in a time of the profoundest peace. Her ruler is driven from his earthly throne, and in his exile he is preparing to define a doctrine; the palaces of her congregations are surrounded by men thirsting for the blood of her princes, and all the while they are calmly weighing evidence for the beatification of a Saint. Surely the parallel between our Lord and His Church is most complete. They ask her if she assumes an empire over lands or territories. She answers, "My kingdom is not of this world. I have a kingdom, but it is a heavenly one. If I have an earthly kingdom, it is one for which I forbid my servants to fight; but as for the functions of my own proper kingdom, they must go on without let or hindrance in spite of all your clamors; for a queen I am, and for this end I came into the world." It is one of the most solemn acts of the spiritual empire of the Church which we are met this day to witness. We, my brethren, who have the happiness to be the children of such a mother, are assembled together to justify what in her wisdom she has

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done. A great society, whose very organization bears the stamp of heavenly wisdom, which pays the penalty of being called after the name of Jesus, by the glorious privilege of being foremost under persecution and insult, has invited us to celebrate the first feast of another of her children, whom the Church has solemnly declared to be among the blessed in heaven. And to complete the spectacle, a prince of the Church, the new founder of the English hierarchy,—for whom the Roman purple has been strangely transformed into the scarlet robe of Jesus,—comes to honor, in the person of the Blessed Peter Claver, that wisdom of the cross which the world calls folly.

Such is the import of the ceremony in which we call upon you to take part; and, indeed, our task is an easy one; for so far is the act of the Church from requiring a vindication, that, in fact, it justifies itself. It is our joyful privilege to celebrate the praises of a man, the plain narrative of whose life is the best proof of his title to the honors which he receives. In fact, as is the case with all the great servants of God whose memory is blessed, the heroic deeds of Father Claver help to justify the mother which bore him. His life is the vindication of the

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company of Jesus, which, while it furnishes confessors to kings and queens, abases itself to be the slave of the slaves of the earth. The great things which he attempted and accomplished serve to vindicate the Catholic Church. If it can be made out, as it certainly can, that the character of this man was such as earth cannot produce; surely it is the mark of heavenly power upon the Church which produced him. She cannot be Antichrist who is the Mother of Saints. She must have within her more than an earthly strength, if she sheds upon her children graces which result in deeds utterly beyond the compass of the known powers of nature. And, in this instance, let us remember the proof is the stronger, because it is the case of a man who has really accomplished what mere philanthropy, backed by all the powers of the world, for once legitimately exerted, has signally failed in doing. For, to gather up into a few words the sum and substance of what we have to put before you, the spectacle which we are now to witness, is that of a man who, by his single arm, accomplished a task which England has exerted all its legislative wisdom, has covered the ocean with its fleets, to accomplish, and has failed,—the humanizing of the negro

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race. Nay more, not only is the result of the work superhuman, but the way in which it was done was superhuman too. What Father Claver did was wrought not by the power of human eloquence, but by the sheer force of sanctity; not by human wisdom, but by the folly of the cross. Surely there can be no better or more practical vindication of the Church of God than this. Above all, the life of the Apostle of the Negroes is the justification of the Providence of God; for the issue of it was the victory over a frightful evil which had long called aloud on God for vengeance—Christians enslaving whole races of men, and inflicting the most grievous wrongs upon them, without giving them the Gospel in exchange. Here we have a man raised up by God to prove that His design in permitting these races to be thus oppressed is to people heaven with them; a man who emulates the fame of St. Francis Xavier, without stirring from the precincts of a single town; who, from his cell in a Jesuit's college, becomes the apostle of whole nations, which, from their position, seemed almost beyond the reach of the religion of Jesus.

Such is the great sight which God calls on the nations to witness, and which we will at once,

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with the help of God, prepare to exhibit before you.

It is the fate, my brethren, of the powers of the world to promise a great deal and to fail; while it is the characteristic of the Church of God to accomplish much which is even beyond the sphere that is legitimately her own. She over and over again has practically solved problems which earthly wisdom had in vain exercised itself upon. Thus, she does not profess to civilize barbarians, but only to save their souls; yet, in point of fact, in christianizing them, she succeeds in educating and humanizing them as well. Now, one of the problems which earthly policy has attempted with universal failure is, to establish right relations between civilized men and barbarians. It is the disgrace of European civilization, that wherever it comes in contact with the savage, it exterminates or brutalizes him. Catholic and Protestant states have alike tried their hands at it, and have failed. If ever the former have succeeded, it is only when they have called in the Church to their aid, and have let her do precisely what she would. Look at the New World, my brethren, as it is called, and you will see a proof of what I mean. When

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Columbus looked down upon the royal plain of Cuba, and saw the primeval forest in all the glory of virgin vegetation, with the smoke of Indian villages peacefully ascending through its trees, he flattered himself that he would convert this simple and happy people; but in a very few years the work of extermination had so gone on, that the very graves of the Indian race are sought for in vain. The conquerors created a solitude about them, and found that their cruel avarice had overreached itself, since it had destroyed the very beings who were its indispensable ministers. The mines of Potosi and Quito, and the fields of Cuba, were deserted for want of natives to work them. Fortunately for the Spaniards, there existed a race of men, strong and fitted for labor, yet so abject that no one came forward to defend them. Yearly from the coast of Angola and Guinea thousands of these wretched beings were transferred to the New World. The city of Carthagena was the common market to which all were brought, in order to be transported from thence to the West Indies, or to the mines of Peru. On this one spot, then, on the coast of South America, ten or twelve thousand negroes were landed yearly.

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Here it was that the Old World, not content with importing its vices into the New, must needs draw out of the very home and centre of its paganism the most degraded forms of superstition, to reassemble them in this one devoted city. At least, you will say, these poor negroes had the inestimable blessings of the Gospel presented to them there. But a simple exposition of the difficulties which stood in the way of their conversion, will account for the fact why Christianity had, as yet, made little or no progress among them. So complicated were they, that the stoutest-hearted missionary might well despair ever to break through them. It seemed as if the empire of darkness had in Carthagena obtained a victory over the kingdom of Jesus. In the first place, the crowds of negroes perpetually disembarked were so large as to baffle the efforts of any missionary. Year by year their numbers increased; ten or twelve hundred were torn from their homes yearly, and landed at this slave city of the West. Again, they had no time to become Christians before they were dispersed about the West Indian islands, or else in Mexico and Peru. Not a moment was to be lost; yet each ship-load as it came seemed to require a new effusion of the gift of tongues

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to convert its wretched cargo, so many, and so barbarous were the dialects of Africa. This, however, was not the most serious obstacle: the treatment which they had experienced on the voyage was such, that they came fully prepared to hate the religion of their captors. One of them, on being asked to become a Christian, asked if there were white men in the Christian heaven; and on being told that there were, answered, that there could be no joy in such cruel company. Lastly—and it was an obstacle by no means to be despised—the repulsive character of these miserable creatures is to be taken into account. Never had the love of souls of the Church such a trial as this. As for the commiseration of the world, it was far too delicate a flower to live in the empoisoned atmosphere of a slave-ship. When one of these dreadful vessels sailed into the harbor of Carthagena, and the hatches were first taken up, such a vapor arose as though the very pit of hell were opened. Hundreds of bodies were pent up there; and if small-pox and fever lent their infection, as was too frequently the case, the hold of the slave-ship was beyond human endurance. No wonder if curses of the white man and his religion loaded the tainted air.

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How could the religion of Jesus penetrate there, since it was shown them in such a disguise as that?

But far away, in the Jesuit novitiate of Tarragona, the Spirit of God had trained a man who was to put an end to this reproach of Christendom. Already, in joining the Society of Jesus, he had sacrificed nobility of birth, and what the world would call the prospect of a most brilliant career; but there was a deeper depth of humiliation to be gone through. He was to enter on a thankless mission of unparalleled labor, without even the vista of a crown of martyrdom to keep up his strength. Eloquence and gifts of mind, which might have made the world ring again with his praises, were thrown away among brutal savages, whose very language was to the last all but unknown to him. But the prospect could not frighten one whose heart was devoured with the love of Jesus; he asked for and obtained from his superiors the unenvied mission. To the four vows of the professed Jesuit he added a fifth, to become to the end of his days the slave of the negroes. How he kept his vow we shall presently see. As soon as the slave-ship appears in the harbor, Father Claver

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is informed of it; his eye kindles, and his emaciated countenance wears a look of joy, at the news. It is a ship-load of souls to be saved for Jesus. His first process was to obtain what he called baits to catch his negroes. "I must speak to them with my hands before I do so with my lips," he used to say. Laden with biscuits and preserves he goes off to the vessel. Oh, in what a beautiful shape did Christianity first appear among these poor creatures! Through the loathsome air he struggles down. His first care is to discover if any children have been born during the voyage, and he baptizes them. He then looks around him for the sick; and the dying negro, whose infectious ulcers have been an object of horror even to his fellow-captives, suddenly feels the father's arms entwined around his body, while a handkerchief steeped in wine refreshes his feverish face. Many a one baptized by the father in this dreadful place, quitted the hold of the slave-ship for the beatific vision in heaven. He turns to the mass of human beings close pressed around him, and watching with wondering eye this novel scene. There seems a magic sympathy between the father and his negroes. The sullen savage ceases to brood over his

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wrongs, and his heart understands that of Father Claver at a glance, so thoroughly does love beam forth through his eyes and his whole deportment. They all cluster round him, and he manages to make them understand that he only leaves them for a time. He found the vessel a floating hell, but his presence has filled its inmates with the blessing of hope. When the hour of landing comes, Father Claver's Jesuit habit is the first object which greets them. He stretches out his hand to help them ashore; he leads them in triumph through the streets, like a victor returning with spoils taken from the devil, and does not leave them till they are lodged in the place of their destination. The magazine where they are kept is only second in misery to the ship. It is the horror of all Carthagena, the very home of infection, disease, and filth. Yet here it is that, day after day, Father Claver wends his way to prepare the slaves for baptism. A crucifix hangs round his neck, and a cross-shaped staff is in his hand. He first visits the quarters of the sick, and then returns to the low, damp, unfurnished room where those in health are huddled together. How eagerly they watch his movements, as he erects an altar, and places over it a large picture

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of Jesus on the Cross, with blood flowing from His five wounds! Priests are holding out chalices to catch it, while expectant negroes are kneeling round to have it poured on their souls. He then separates them into groups, the men apart from the women. The damp floor is covered with benches, and his cloak is often made a cushion for some loathsome creature, from whose pestilent touch his very fellows shrink. Hour after hour he goes through the suffocating air from group to group, speaking to them through his interpreters, to prepare them for baptism. I leave you to fancy his joy, my brethren, when at length the day of baptism arrives. With a face beaming like a seraph's, he takes his stand beside the font; they come to him one by one, first the boys and the men, then the women and the girls; and after all is over, and each despised and neglected slave has been regenerated into the liberty of the gospel—it was a scene such as earth had never witnessed before, to see him standing in the midst with a crucifix in his hand, making them swear that they will never offend the Jesus who had died for them. For thirty long years such was Father Claver's life; it was a never-ending mission. As fast as one

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set had been made Christians, another came in. Instead of new countries spreading before the missionary's path, and opening beautiful scenes before him to vary his labors, Father Claver's life alternated between the hold of the slave-ship and the infected prison-house where they were lodged. Instead of the excitement which bears up the preacher, one long, monotonous round of undignified mental and bodily labors consumed his days. But, before he died, four hundred thousand negroes, taught by his own lips and baptized with his own hand, bore witness to his incredible toils.

This, of itself, would have been enough to have proved the supernatural life of Father Claver, for such colossal labors were beyond the powers of an ordinary man; and yet this was but a portion of what he did. An effort such as this was not enough to guide his children safe to heaven. The negro, though baptized, had still human nature within him, and a savage nature too; and Carthagena was but a sorry school of Christian life for him. At one bound he had been transferred from his native forests into the heart of a wicked town. A Paraguay would have been necessary to keep him from sin; and instead of that, he

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was thrown into a city, where on every side were sights and sounds proper to arouse anew his barbarian passions. The Apostle of the Negroes must be as assiduous in the administration of the Sacrament of Penance as of Baptism. The spoils from the kingdom of Satan were to be kept with vigilance, as they had been won with courageous endurance. Every morning, as soon as the Jesuits' church was opened, Father Claver took his seat in the confessional. The church was damp and hot; and in the hottest part of it, near the door, on which the rays of a tropical sun beat till midday, sat the negro's confessor, and never went away till it was time to say the last Mass. On festival days, at three o'clock in the morning, he was there ready to confess his beloved slaves; noble ladies attempted to pass through the crowd to get to him, but he gently sent them back, saying that he was there for the service of the negresses. But when Lent came round, then it was that his labors were redoubled. At break of day he began his work, and he never rose till eight hours had passed over his head. The interval of rest was not a long one; at two he was there again, as that was the hour appointed for the negresses.

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The mosquitoes swarmed around him, so that he was sometimes covered with blood from their stings. Towards six o'clock in the evening he heard the men's confessions, till the college gates compelled him to leave off his labors. Then, and not till then, he went away; and often so weary and exhausted was he, that he staggered when he left his seat, and was borne fainting from the church. When Easter came, his only relaxation was to leave the town to seek for the negroes scattered among the mountains which overhang it; this was the only time when he ever set foot beyond its gates. He only exchanged the hot streets of the city for more laborious ground. On foot he climbed mountain-sides, or waded through marshes and ravines. The rain fell in torrents and drenched him to the skin, and the lightning of tropical storms flashed around him; but on he marched, to seek for souls in that wild country. On arriving at a negro settlement, he planted a cross and assembled the slaves around it, or else in the chapel, after their work was over, and preached to them with a crucifix in his hand. He established himself in the poorest negro-hut that he could find, and never quitted the place so long as

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there was any one left to be brought to the Sacrament of Penance. At one time he suddenly broke away from the house of a Spaniard where he was staying, and plunged deep into the recesses of the mountains. He marched on through wild and impracticable roads; no one knew how he could find his way, for he took no guide. When he came back, pale and wan from fatigue, he was gently reproached for his imprudence; his only reply was, that there were three souls to be saved. Afterwards it was discovered that he had gone to administer the last Sacraments to three old negroes, who had been abandoned by all the world, and had crawled into a ruined hut to die. But it was not in the forest or on the mountain that God meant Father Claver to be a missionary; his proper home was in the town. And be sure, that without ever following his brethren up the sides of the Andes, or striving to extend the kingdom of the cross along the banks of the Amazon, there was work enough in Carthagena to win for him the name of an Apostle. Unfortunately it requires no stretch of imagination for us to conceive what a plague-spot on the face of God's earth is a wicked city, how it sucks up into itself the pestilential gatherings

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of a country's guilt. But as for the town in which God's providence had placed Father Claver, it seemed as if the concentrated wickedness of earth had poured its bitter waters into that one devoted spot. Each nation in the world brought its quota to the mighty whole. The white man came with all the refined vices of civilization, while the negro imported from the wilderness all the burning and unbridled lusts of a son of the desert. It was a critical moment that God chose to place Father Claver there.

The seas which wash the shores of South America were the battle-field on which the powers of Europe were at that moment contending for the mastery. On the waters of that mysterious ocean which contains the West India islands, the fleets of every nation were gathered together; and hardly an islet in its whole expanse but was the home of an English pirate. Carthagena was the central point of the struggle, and all nations found their way into its streets. The English Protestant, the Pagan, and the Mahometan entered there into an unholy alliance with the bad Catholic to outrage the majesty of God. It was there, then, at the very point where the wickedness of two

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worlds met together, that God placed Father Claver; and there was energy enough in his single heart to make him the apostle of them both. He seemed to haunt that city like a very spirit. If the wild music which they brought from Africa tempted the negroes to join in the lascivious dance, the Father's form suddenly appeared among them, and they fled at his approach. Nay, it happened at times that if a negro approached a negress in the streets, and words of evil intent were spoken between them, all on a sudden, with the cry "Father Claver is coming!" they would break away from each other, though the bystanders looked around and saw no Father Claver there. When the lash was about to descend mercilessly on the trembling slave, as though he knew by instinct where his negroes were suffering, his appearance arrested the uplifted arm. Oh, what a check it was to sin to have such a man within the walls of the city! His very form, when, under the intolerable rays of a burning sun, he begged in the market-place for his negroes, was a protest against sin for the whole population of that crowded town. The white man felt his power fully as much as the black; and Father Claver's voice, preaching in some public square

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when the flood of sin grew stronger than usual, found a response from one end of the city to the other. Nay, to the very extremity of the West Indies, the lovely islands spoiled by the wickedness of men, echoed to the father's name. One and all, down to the very buccaneer, bowed to the mighty influence which thrilled through the channels of the sea; and the astonished Englishman, arrested in his career of rapine and of guilt, found the goodness of God impersonated in Father Claver. Truly God is most merciful, even when He seems most mysterious in His severity, and His saints are the channels of His mercy. It is in towns, the strongholds of sin, that He most of all delights to show His goodness; and when their wickedness cries for vengeance to Him, His sweet revenge is to send a saint to be their apostle. One man is quite enough to grapple with the sins of the New World and the Old conjoined, if he only bear in his heart the Spirit of Almighty God. That, and that alone, can do it. If there had been no stronger power than mere philanthropy in Father Claver's mind, it could never have carried him through the complication of mighty evils which he had to face. No theory of the rights of man would have

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had enough of God in it to have supported him under the undignified monotony of his labors, to have borne him triumphantly through the selfish vice of the white man and the brutality of the black. Oh! believe me, my dear brethren, if he had seen nothing more in the African race than sons of Adam, he would never have loved them with the unutterable love which burnt within him. But it was the love of souls, it was the mysterious instinct of the new-born heart, which led him on through his superhuman travail. It threw itself out in strange incomprehensible ways. He kissed their ulcers, and their poisonous breath was a very balm to him, so certain is it that nature was not the source of his love; since at every step of his life among the negroes its every sense was shocked and mortified. It was the conquering power of grace which bore him on; the liberty of the Gospel was his war-cry, and it led him to achieve exploits to which the love of earthly freedom has proved itself unequal. If you would wish to know the secret and the source of his power, it was that a spark from the heart of Jesus had set his soul on fire, and burned steadily and unconsuming, where an earthly flame would

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have blazed up fiercely, and then smouldered away. The only adequate explanation of his unheard-of toils was that he saw in each swarthy negro a child of Jesus and Mary. Long ago there was One who wept over a wicked town, and then in the narrow circle of the garden shed blood enough under the olive-trees to redeem the world; and this alone will explain to you how it was that Father Claver sat himself down within the walls of the Jesuits' college, and by the sheer force of sanctity deserved the glorious title of Apostle of Carthagena, of the West Indies, and of the Negro race.

All that has hitherto been said is quite enough to show you that the work which Father Claver performed was supernatural, because it was such as the ordinary powers of man could not have accomplished; and in proving this to you, my brethren, I have already said quite enough to vindicate the Church of God, even to the world before which she needs justification. But there remains still a further portion of my task, though a shorter one, which concerns you as well as the world. We are all of us, in looking at any great good effected by the saints of God, but too apt to stop at the mere material work achieved by them, and to

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forget the mode in which they accomplished it. Now in order to continue and confirm what has already been advanced, it appears from the history of this blessed man, that not only was what he accomplished superhuman, but the very means by which he wrought it were such as heavenly wisdon alone could have suggested to him. It is the characteristic of Almighty God, that not only does He do great things, but that He brings them out of nothing. It is the glory of God to draw strength out of weakness, and to bring to pass the most supernatural events by means which seem below the dignity of nature. Man requires independence of mind, eloquence, and magnanimity, as the condition of doing any thing great; God works by obedience, simplicity, and humility. Now that we have seen what Father Claver did, let us compare with the wonderful result, the mode in which he worked. We shall find in the very outset of his life enough to show us that every step bears the marks of a character which the Spirit of God alone could have wrought within him.

Go into the Jesuits' college at Majorca in the year 1609; you will find two of its inmates walking together in the garden, for they are

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constant companions. One of them is a young novice, the other an old man evidently sinking into the grave. They are in earnest converse; and if you watch them attentively, you will see that the young man's eye is kindling at the words which his companion utters. You will wonder what can be the attraction which binds together two men so dissimilar in years. You imagine that it must be some old father on whose eloquent lips kings and nobles have hung in rapture. But you are much mistaken if you think so; it is Alfonso Rodriguez, the porter-brother of the college, and the young novice is Peter Claver. Approach, and hearken to their conversation. The prophetic eye of the aged man has already seen the vocation to which God destines his young disciple. He knows by revelation that he is to be the apostle of the West Indies, and he is preparing him for his work. Listen to him: he rings the changes on three words,—self-denial, obedience, and humility. These three words are the key-note of Father Claver's life; they never left his mind. They haunted him in the slave-ship and in the sultry squares of the city; they pursued him across the Atlantic into his cell in the Jesuits' college of Carthagena.

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Father Claver's labors for the day are over; the college-gates are closed, and no negroes can come to confession. You think he is gone to refresh himself by sleep after his long day's work; but approach his room, and you will soon be undeceived. Far into the night he remains on his knees before a crucifix, communing with Jesus; then suddenly he rises up, and taking a discipline in his hand, he scourges himself till his emaciated body is covered with blood. Or at times, when the whole college is buried in sleep, the door opens, and a pale, wan figure issues into the silent corridor, with blood dripping from the crown of thorns on his brow, and a heavy cross upon his shoulder, traversing the most solitary parts of the house, as though he were following Jesus to Calvary. Who could suppose that this is he who has staggered and fallen on quitting his confessional, and been carried into the house from the church, because his feeble limbs were unable to bear his sinking frame! Or again, see him in the day-time traversing the streets of the city on some errand of mercy or to save some dying soul; his step is so light that his companion cannot keep pace with him; yet each movement costs him unutterable pain, for his

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whole body is bound round with horse-hair ropes and iron points which pierce his flesh. Oh, why all this waste of human blood and pain? why punish that innocent body? why not let the wicked suffer for their own sins? This is human reasoning; but the Blessed Father Claver is taking up the cross of the spotless Lamb, who, because He was sinless, was offered up as a victim for sinners. And so well was this understood, that when a dreadful earthquake ravaged a neighboring town, and did not reach the city where he dwelt, the very boys in the streets sang a rude chant, implying that for Claver's sake God spared Carthagena.

Or again, the very secret of human success is, that a man should be bent on his work with such a tenacious will that no power on earth can wean him from it. It is not so with the work of God. Alas, how often do we spoil it by loving it for its own sake, for the natural excitement which we find in it, instead of for the love of God! But as for the saints, let but the will of God manifest itself, and they give it up; for God, and not the good which they do, is their all in all. At one moment the Jesuits had enemies at Carthagena; and they take

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advantage of the arrival of a new visitor-general to prefer against Claver a false charge of reiterating Baptism. A mandate arrives at the college forbidding him any longer to confer the Sacrament of Baptism. Oh, my brethren, what a trial for Father Claver! If there had been in his heart a single drop of natural feeling, unrefined by the grace of God, it would have shown itself then. His only joy was to pour the waters of regeneration on his dear negroes; and now this was forbidden him! But though he loved them well, and would have shed the last drop of his blood for them, yet he loved the will of God still more. Without a murmur he submitted, and baptized no more till the false charge had been cleared away, and his superiors were undeceived. Never, in all his life, had he such a trial as this; and never, in his whole wonderful career, was he more like Him who longed for His cross, yet put it off till the moment appointed by His Father came.

My brethren, enough has been said to prove the point with which we began. The plain recital of Father Claver's life has brought out before you a character such as earth cannot produce—the character of the saints of God. Everlasting praise be to Jesus, who never has

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abandoned His church, but raises up saints within her to the end of time. "The arm of the Lord is not shortened." Thanks be to God, who has given a new strength to His Church, since every saint whom she places on her altars augments the resources of her children, and their power of intercession with Him. It is a joyful thing now, for the first time in public, to call upon this blessed saint with all the sanction of the Holy See. "Blessed Peter Claver," may we say to him, "help us by thy prayers, since our apostolate lies, like thine, amidst the streets and lanes of a wicked city. Oh, do thou obtain for us that gift which alone will convert this miserable country, the gift of sanctity. Spread the kingdom of Jesus in this mighty empire, that England may be known again by the glorious names which once were hers, the 'Dower of Mary' and the 'Isle of Saints.'"

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QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER PEOPLE.

I.

How Elizabeth Restored the Protestant Religion.

NEW YORK:
EDWARD DUNIGAN AND BROTHER,
151 FULTON ST., NEAR BROADWAY.

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QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER PEOPLE.

HOW ELIZABETH RESTORED THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

It is the fashion to say that the Protestant Church was founded on liberty of conscience. This is the favorite notion among all classes; yet nothing can be further from the truth, as a glance at history would show. Henry VIII. persecuted, Edward VI. persecuted, Elizabeth persecuted; and of the Protestant Church as it now stands Elizabeth was the founder. Whatever accidental modifications it may have undergone from the various political changes through which the crown and the nation have passed, as Elizabeth made it, such it has remained.

I say, then, that Elizabeth persecuted her Catholic subjects, and persecuted them to the death; and I will prove it by the plain facts of history. But I may be told, perhaps, by

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some, that proof is unnecessary; that the assertion is not denied; that many Protestant historians, especially of late years, have been forward in exposing and condemning the measures which Elizabeth adopted for the suppression of the Catholic religion and the establishment of her church. True, but it matters little what historians have done, if the people of this country are none the wiser for their labors; and this, speaking generally, is certainly the case. In the current literature of the day, in newspapers, in speeches, whether in Parliament or out, whenever, in short, the public is addressed, the old lies are repeated again and again. That penal laws were passed against the Catholics, and that many of them were fined, imprisoned, and even put to death, this, I grant you, is pretty generally known; but then it is said that the Catholics plotted and rebelled, that the Pope excommunicated the Queen and released her subjects from their allegiance, and it was necessary therefore to put them down with a strong hand; in short, that it was the disloyalty of the Catholics, and not their religion, against which the laws were directed.

Now I will go through the first ten or ele-

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ven years of Elizabeth's reign—a sufficient period, surely, by which to test the truth of the popular account,—and I will show, mostly from Protestant writers, that it is utterly false; and that during all this time the Queen, the government, and the Protestant party were the aggressors, and the Catholics the sufferers; that it was their fidelity to their religion, and not their disloyalty to their sovereign, which was the occasion of the treatment they received.

Queen Mary had expired about noon on the 17th of November, 1558. A few hours afterwards the Commons were summoned to attend at the bar of the House of Lords, when the event was communicated to them by Heath, Archbishop of York and Lord High Chancellor. He announced at the same time that the Lady Elizabeth, her sister, was now queen, and that "of her most lawful right and title to the crown none could make question." For this "good and loyal service" Elizabeth, says her Protestant biographer, "owed the archbishop a large debt of gratitude, for he thus made the first proclaiming of her title a solemn act of both Houses of Parliament." "His

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conduct at this crisis," she observes, "secured her the loyalty of the Catholics of England." Not a voice was raised in opposition. On the 23d of the same month the queen made her entrance into London; and at Highgate, four miles from the city, was met by all the Catholic bishops, who knelt to do her homage.

And what, you may ask, was Elizabeth's religion at this time? Nay, what indeed! Protestant and Catholic writers are now pretty well agreed that she was indifferent to any. In the reign of her brother she had adopted Protestantism; in that of her sister she had conformed to the Catholic religion. Indeed, on several occasions she had found it expedient to protest her fidelity to the ancient faith; and when Mary, on her deathbed, conjured her to declare her real convictions, Elizabeth "prayed God the earth might open and swallow her up alive if she were not a true Roman Catholic." As such the nation at large still regarded her; though to many it was known, and by more suspected, that she leant to the opposite side. As a matter of fact, it would seem that personally Elizabeth was favorably inclined to many portions of the old religion, and that she would have been glad to

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set up a church after King Henry's pattern, in which doctrines should continue in the main unchanged, and the sovereign be acknowledged as supreme spiritual head in the place of the Pope. But her love of dominion was unbounded, and she was ready to consent to any change in religion which would help to seat her firmly on the throne. At present, however, be it remembered, she professed herself a Roman Catholic.

In a few days Elizabeth appointed her council, in which she retained thirteen of Mary's advisers, but added thereto eight of her own selection, who, if not avowed Protestants, were notorious favorers of the "reformed" religion. This mixture of Catholics and Protestants was to give a show of impartiality; but it was a mere deception. At the head of her council she placed Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh), a consummate politician, but a most unprincipled man, who having been a Protestant in Edward's reign, had not only conformed in that of Mary, but had tried to worm himself into her confidence by feigning extraordinary zeal for the Catholic faith. Many never trusted him; and aware of the precariousness of her life, he had

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turned his devotion "from the setting to the rising sun." By his advice *a secret cabinet* was now formed, consisting of himself and four of his immediate friends, by which Elizabeth was able to mature her plans more at her leisure. To get rid of troublesome opponents, the Catholic leaders were to be brought into discredit with the nation, and their influence broken by fair means or foul. The plan was to institute vexatious inquiries into their conduct during the late reign, and to harass the bishops and clergy in particular by a series of legal prosecutions, or, if necessary, by new parliamentary enactments; to remove the present magistrates, and appoint younger and needier men in their place; to "purge" the universities and other public institutions of all who were attached to the old religion; in short, to establish complete Protestant ascendancy in church and state. All this was to be done by degrees, and as opportunity offered. As for religion, they considered (to use the words of Collier, a Protestant writer,) that "it was by no means advisable to allow of more than one church; that the free exercise of different religions would prove an everlasting principle of sedition and disturbance." Those

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Protestants, therefore, who were disposed to carry the Reformation to uncomfortable extremes were to be kept in check; but "to prevent discontents," the national religion was to be made as large and loose as possible: a new Prayer-Book was to be fashioned out of that which was in use in King Edward's reign; and for this purpose a committee of the principal reformers, most of whom afterwards became Protestant "bishops," was secretly appointed.

Elizabeth's first act was to notify her accession to foreign powers. This she did by announcing that she had succeeded to the throne of England "by hereditary right and the consent of the nation." The instructions she gave her ambassadors varied with her interests; for in no one thing could she act sincerely and straightforwardly. The King of Denmark and the Lutheran princes of Germany were privately informed of her attachment to Protestantism, and of her anxious desire to form a political union among all its professors; while the Emperor Ferdinand and Philip king of Spain, both Catholic princes, were assured of her intention to maintain and strengthen the alliance that existed between

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the house of Austria and the English crown. Till very recently, it was generally believed that Elizabeth announced her accession, among the rest, to Paul IV., the then reigning Pontiff, and that his reply was of so insulting a nature as to drive her into the public profession of the Protestant religion. But documents* have come to light within the last few years which clearly prove not only that this pretended reply was never given by the Pope, but that no such announcement was ever made by Elizabeth. Thus a vast mass of crimination against Papal arrogance and presumption is at once tumbled to the ground; the whole being found to rest on a false foundation. So far from the Holy Father having refused to recognize Elizabeth's title to the crown of England, it now appears that he could not be induced by all the urgent solicitations of the French court to take any part against her; and that long after the supposed reply was said to have reached this country, the Pope and Cardinals were expecting a communication from the Queen, and contemplating an embassy in return.

This discovery of course relieves me from

* See vol. 4 of Dodd's *Church History*, edited by Tierney.

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the necessity of defending the conduct of the Pope; but as the words put into his mouth have reference to a fact which had an important political bearing in those days, it may be well to notice them. The affront which the Pope is pretended to have offered to Elizabeth consisted in his saying that he was unable to understand the "hereditary right" of one who was not born in lawful wedlock; an assertion which, however unpalatable to Elizabeth and her partisans, would have been perfectly true had it been uttered. Elizabeth was clearly illegitimate in the eye of the Church, having been born while Henry's lawful wife, Queen Catherine, was living; she had also been pronounced illegitimate by the law of the land; for, by a solemn instrument under the seal of Archbishop Cranmer, Henry himself had declared his marriage with Anne Boleyn, "for good and valid reasons," null and void. A sentence of divorce had accordingly been pronounced, approved by Convocation, and ratified by act of Parliament; in which act was included a special clause, declaring Elizabeth to be illegitimate. This act had never been repealed; for though, in regulating the succession to the crown, Henry VIII. had made

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Elizabeth capable of succeeding to her sister Mary, he left her still attainted in blood. But this was not all: there was another and a legitimate claimant to the throne, and that was Mary Queen of Scots, who had married Francis, dauphin of France, and whose son, James I., at the death of Elizabeth ascended the English throne by that very right of descent which he had from his mother. Again, as to the "consent of the nation:" even this was by no means so clear to those who lived in that day as it may be to us, who have the whole event before our eyes. The powers of Parliament were not then such as they have since become: a parliamentary title was not supposed to stand good against an hereditary right. So that there would have been nothing so very surprising or censurable had the Pope made the reply which he is reported to have made. But even with this doubt upon her title, be it observed, the Catholics recognized Elizabeth as their queen; and this fact only serves to render her subsequent conduct towards them the more iniquitous, and to place their long submission to her tyranny in a more striking light.

Elizabeth required no rebuff on the part of

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the Pope to drive her into schism. It is plain, from the instructions she sent her ambassadors, from the choice she made in the appointment of her new counsellors, and from the sanction she gave to their underhand proceedings, that she was only watching the turn of events, and waiting to see how the people bore the first changes in religion, before she openly threw off her allegiance to the Holy See and the profession of Catholicism. Circumstances favored her design. With the people, Elizabeth was for many reasons popular: she had been severely treated by Mary's government, and not without just grounds, as her admirers have themselves confessed; but the sympathy of the masses was naturally drawn to a princess in distress, and Elizabeth had availed herself of every opportunity to insinuate herself into their good graces by those displays of royal condescension in which she was so accomplished a proficient. The relative numbers of Catholics and Protestants at this time it is now impossible to ascertain; professedly, at least, the larger part of England was Catholic; Ireland* wholly so. On the other hand, the new

* How Elizabeth treated Ireland will form a separate subject.

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opinions, it would appear, had made considerable way in London and its vicinity, as well as in the seaport towns; or rather it should be said, that great indifference about religion and laxity in practice there prevailed. Anyhow, it is plain that the faith of the nation must have suffered grievously from the continual changes that had been going on, backwards and forwards, for so long a time, the favor which had been shown to heretical teachers, and the disadvantages under which the Catholics had labored, not only from an openly hostile government like that of Henry and Edward, but from one that was professedly their friend,—the unprincipled, and as I have shown you, anti-papal government of Mary. The wholesale executions in which that government had indulged, in spite of the remonstrances of the Pope's legatee, and in opposition to the wishes of the Catholic bishops, had alienated people's minds from the old religion, and brought odium on the Church herself. Sympathy for the sufferers had turned with many into sympathy for the cause for which they suffered. Other reasons also operated in Elizabeth's favor. The claim of Mary Queen of Scots was unpopular in England; not be-

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cause she was a Catholic, but because, being married to the eldest son of the French king, it was thought that if she ascended the English throne, England would become a mere province of France. Elizabeth hoped, and hoped rightly, that the fear of this event would make men less disposed to sift her pretensions or oppose her designs.

Still it was necessary for a while to proceed cautiously: the hopes of the Protestants were to be raised, without depressing too much those of the Catholics. She therefore played the hypocrite, this "good Queen Bess," as did her right trusty and well-beloved counsellors. Acting on the plan that had been concerted, the Queen continued to assist at Mass, and occasionally went to confession and received communion. She had the funeral of her sister Mary performed in her presence with all the solemnities of the Catholic ritual; and ordered Masses to be said for the soul of the Emperor Charles V., who was lately dead. Signs, however, were not wanting of the line which she was intending to pursue. The Bishop of Winchester was arrested as he descended the pulpit-stairs after preaching a sermon at Mary's funeral; in which, though he expressly ac-

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knowledged Elizabeth's right to the crown, he praised her sister for her Christian virtues, and spoke with all boldness against false teachers and the sin of schism. Other signs soon followed: the Protestant divines now returned from abroad, showed themselves at court, and were appointed to places of trust. It began to be safe to lift the mask. The Bishop of Carlisle, while robing for Mass on Christmas morning, received an order from the Queen not to elevate the most holy Sacrament in the royal presence. To this impious request the Bishop made a very simple reply: "My life," said he, "is the queen's, but my conscience is my own;" on which Elizabeth withdrew with her train as soon as the Gospel was finished. The Bishop of London was subjected to a vexatious suit at law; and the Archbishop of York was obliged to resign his office of Lord Chancellor. But more than this: taking advantage of the tumults which were excited by the Protestants, the Queen forbade all preaching without a special license from the crown, and at the same time issued a proclamation requiring certain portions of the public service to be read in English; ordering that "all such rites and ceremonies should be observed in all

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parish churches of the kingdom as were then used and retained in Her Majesty's chapel, until consultation might be had in Parliament by the Queen and the three estates."

These arbitrary proceedings, and the threat which the last words held out of further interference with the worship of the Church, made it no longer possible to doubt Elizabeth's intentions. The bishops met and unanimously declared that they could not in conscience officiate at the coronation of a princess whose fidelity to the religion which she still professed they had so much reason to distrust. Elizabeth did not feel herself strong enough yet to carry things with a high hand, or to dispense with the public sanction of the Catholic hierarchy, and many expedients were tried to break their resolution. At length the Bishop of Carlisle was induced to place the crown upon her head; but not until the Queen, on her part, had promised to take the accustomed oath, solemnly engaging "to maintain the laws, honor, peace, and privileges of the Church as they existed in the time of King Edward the Confessor." She also received communion in one kind, and conformed to all the rites of the Catholic pontifical. The

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Bishop, it is said, was haunted with remorse for the short remainder of his days; as well he might, considering the way in which the Queen observed the oath she had taken at his hands. The rest of the prelates stood firm in their refusal, and absented themselves from the ceremony. On the day before the coronation, when she was on her way to Westminster, many pretty pageants were enacted, in which Elizabeth played her part with great effect. Thus, while one of the boys of Christ's Hospital was delivering himself of a laudatory speech, "she sat," says her biographer, "with her eyes and hands cast up to heaven, to the great edification of all beholders." As she passed through Cheapside, an English Bible was let down to her by a child dressed to represent truth. Her manner of receiving it, says Collier, was "particularly taking:" first she kissed her hands, and then she took and kissed the book, and laid it to her heart; and then she promised she would read it, as if it were the first opportunity she had had of doing so, and said it was the most precious of all the gifts she had received. "It must be said," he adds, "that she was a great mistress of behavior, and perfectly understood the art of

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making herself popular without expense."

Ten days afterwards (Jan. 25th, 1559) Parliament met. The Queen assisted at a solemn Mass, which was followed (wonderful consistency!) by a sermon from a Protestant divine. The first thing done was to recognize Elizabeth's title to the crown. Mary had been careful to establish the legality of her mother's marriage and her own legitimacy; Elizabeth ventured on nothing of the kind: she left unreversed the act which declared the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn to be null and void from the beginning, and which fastened on her mother the stigma of incest, adultery, and treason; but she passed a law, which, though intended to make the right which she claimed by statute look like a right by royal descent, made it only the more apparent that any right which she had by statute, presupposed the nullity of her pretensions on the score of descent. However, what chiefly concerns us here is the alteration in religion. The Queen had it declared in parliament that her principal object in summoning them together was "the honor of God Almighty;" and a strange way she took to show it. One of Mary's first acts had been to restore to the

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Church all the property of which it had been unrighteously plundered by her father; Elizabeth hastened to appropriate it all again. She also took possession of the abbey lands which Mary had given back to their rightful owners. Having thus tried the affections of her faithful Lords and Commons, she proceeded to put in execution the project on which she had long resolved, and this was, to renounce the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and establish her own authority in its stead; thus making herself supreme governor not only of the State, but of the Church—in other words, of all religion in the land. The act declares that to the sovereign belongs "all manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such heresies, schisms, &c., as by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power can or may lawfully be reformed;" all which spiritual power, moreover, it expressly denies to the Pope. Nor was this all: a stringent oath was framed; and this oath was to be taken, not only by every bishop and dignitary of the Church, not only by every clergyman who had cure of souls, but by all the lay officials of the crown, by every judge, magistrate, and

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mayor; nay, the beadle and constable were no more exempt than His Grace the Archbishop and the Lord High Chancellor. No man could bear office in Church or State who would not acknowledge on his oath the Queen's supremacy; in other words, who would not deny his faith and cease to be a Catholic. I beg you to look this fact full in the face. This Protestant Queen, who in her coronation-oath had sworn to uphold the interests of the Catholic religion, excludes from every office in the State every Catholic who is not wicked enough to sacrifice his conscience and his religion to his worldly interests.

But Elizabeth was not yet satisfied: it was a small thing to disqualify the Catholic for bearing office in the State or ministering in the national Church; he was also prohibited from maintaining the spiritual power of the Pope in words or writing, under the pain of forfeiting for the first offence all his goods and chattels, or, if the said goods and chattels were not worth £20, of being imprisoned for a year. For the second offence he was to incur the penalty of a *præmunire*, as it was called; and this was imprisonment for life. The third offence was to be accounted treason; that is to

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say—and I would have you think of this the next time you hear people talk of Popish cruelty—he was to be drawn to the gallows, hanged by the neck, then cut down *alive,* his bowels torn out while he was *alive,* and, last of all, his head cut off! Such was the mild treatment which "good Queen Bess" provided for her Catholic subjects; such were the measures by which "all mischiefs were to be amended, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, and conservation of the peace and unity of the, realm." But it was not enough to enact a law; there must be a special court to carry it into effect. The Queen was therefore empowered to create a permanent commission for trying all offences against the said enactment, which was to supersede the usual course of law, and from whose decisions there was no appeal. Of the deeds of this infamous court I shall have to speak hereafter: I mention its proposed erection here, that you may see the sort of machinery which was prepared for forcing Protestantism on the nation, and keeping it there when once it was forced on.

The statute of supremacy disposed of all official persons, whether spiritual or lay; that

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is to say, of all those who by their talents or position were likely to stand in the way of the government's designs: what remained was, to bring the mass of the people under the thumb of the law. The State-pope was enthroned; the next thing to be arranged was a State-religion, to which all good subjects were to conform, no matter what their private convictions might be. The State was to prescribe to the "free-born Briton" not only what pastors he should recognize, but what belief he should profess, and what worship he should practise, or at least frequent. A secret committee, as I have told you, had been appointed to remodel King Edward's Prayer-Book; and a bill was now brought into Parliament for what was called "the restoration of the English liturgy." You must not suppose, however, that the clergy had been idle all this time. Convocation, which was a sort of clerical parliament, had met, and had presented to the House of Lords a declaration of belief in the Catholic doctrines then most contested, and of adherence to the spiritual authority of the Pope; which declaration had likewise been subscribed by the two Universities of the land. This was an awkward business. The Church and the Par-

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liament were placed in an attitude of hostility one to the other, and that too in a matter in which the common sense of the nation pronounced the Church to be (to say the very least) most probably in the right. To get rid of this embarrassment, an ingenious expedient was hit upon, and this was, to oppose to the recognized authority of the Catholic hierarchy the semblance of a rival power. A public discussion was got up between the Catholic bishops and the most distinguished Protestant divines. This, it was predetermined by the government, should terminate only in one way, viz., in the discomfiture of the champions of the ancient faith. The bishops were allowed no refusal; dispute they must, *or judgment would be given against them.* And observe, the very fact of their disputing placed them in a false position, and gave an immense advantage to their adversaries. Of this the court-party were fully aware. They knew that to the nation looking on (and the populace were to be admitted as spectators of the fray), it would seem as if the matters in debate were still doubtful and unsettled questions, on which men might come to opposite conclusions. Authority there was none to decide on the

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issue of the conference, except the crown; and for Catholic bishops to dispute under such circumstances was like acknowledging the crown to possess the very supremacy it claimed. Sir Nicholas Bacon, a layman and a Protestant, was appointed to preside; the Archbishop of York being (perhaps) allowed to sit, for appearance sake, in dumb show by his side. The pretence of a discussion was all that was wanted, and the Protestants managed the matter their own way. In the first place, they chose the propositions for discussion, and worded them as they pleased, the Catholics not even being consulted. In the second place, the Catholics were allowed only two days' notice of the subjects of debate, while the Protestants had ample time for preparation; and even this short warning it was contrived to render useless to them: for, first they were told they must *speak* in Latin; and next, that they were to *write* what they had to say in Latin; and lastly, that this writing was to be in English, and not in Latin. Then, again, it had been ordered by the Council that the Catholics should always begin the debate, and the Protestants always have the reply; the Catholics being refused the liberty of resuming the

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point which had been debated on the previous day,—a mode of proceeding which gave the Protestants a manifest advantage. The bishops were Englishmen, and Englishmen, it is said, like fair play; and when they saw what sort of justice was in store for them, they very wisely refused, on the morning of the second day, to carry the disputation further. On which the president, who was set to moderate between the parties, pronounced these ominous words: "As you will not let us hear you, you shall very shortly hear from us." He was as good as his word; for "very shortly" two of the bishops who had been the boldest in exposing this pretty court-device were committed prisoners to the Tower, whilst the three others who had been present were, together with their clerical consultors, bound in their recognizances to appear from day to day till judgment should be given. In the end every one of them was heavily fined.

The conference being thus concluded to the satisfaction of the government, the bill for adopting the new Book of Common Prayer was again brought in. The Commons made as little difficulty about restoring the Protestant religion as only five years before they

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had done about restoring the Catholic. As I told you at the time, the nobles and gentry, taken as a body (for there were generous exceptions), were men of no religion; all they cared for was to stand well with the court and the ruling powers, and to "keep their own," as they said. Protestants under a Protestant king, and Catholics under a Catholic queen, they turned again as the wind veered round. In the House of Lords, however, the bill encountered a spirited opposition, the whole episcopal bench and several lay peers being arrayed against it. It was carried by a majority of three.

What was carried? Merely a law, you may suppose, by which Protestantism became once more the national religion; which gave up the churches and the revenue thereof to the professors of the new opinions. All this certainly followed; and considering that the bulk of the people, the middle and the lower classes, were generally Catholics, it was no slight hardship, or rather, I should say, no slight piece of tyranny. But was this all? No; what was passed was a bill of pains and penalties, by which any minister who should use any but the parliamentary Prayer-Book

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should, for the first offence, forfeit to the queen the whole of his income for one year, and be imprisoned for six months; for the second offence, be imprisoned for twelve months, and be deprived of his living, or of any other benefice he might hold; and for the third offence, suffer imprisonment for life. If he chanced to hold no ecclesiastical benefice, he was, for the first offence, to be imprisoned one whole year; and for the second, during his life. Thus, by the tender mercies of the law, the Catholic clergy were called upon at once to choose between apostacy and beggary.

And did the people escape? Would you who read and I who write this little history have been left in peace to worship God according to the dictates of our conscience? Conscience! with what a laugh of scorn would the very mention of such a plea have been received! "What! not content," it would have been replied, "with the freedom which the State allows you? We put no violence on your conscience; *believe* what you please; all that we require is, that you should *profess* as the law directs. If this do not satisfy you, then be thankful that we permit you to keep your conscience in your pocket." Yes, it is

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no figure of speech, but in a manner literally true, that in the days of "good Queen Bess"—and, for the matter of that, many days afterwards, ay and not so very long ago, until it was supposed that the spirit of Catholicism was extinct—the people of this country were forced to keep their conscience in their pocket. For at this time it was enacted, that *all persons who should absent themselves from church on Sundays and holidays should forfeit for every such offence one shilling* (worth three of our money, besides being a much greater sum in those days), *to be levied by the churchwardens of the parish where such offence should be committed.* This fine, as we shall see, was afterwards much increased in amount, and levied too; but it is of great importance that every event should be noted in the order in which it occurred. Thus then stood the law; the people were to be made Protestants of, not, as the pulpit-orators of the present day would fain persuade you, by Bible-reading or Gospel preaching, but by the sheer force of legal persecution. The people of this country submitted to the Protestant establishment, not through hatred of Popery, nor through love of Protestantism, but through fear,—fear of being robbed of

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their hard earnings, or being sent to jail, if they did not, outwardly at least, conform to the religion which their rulers thrust upon them. One thing at least is very plain, that if Popery were so dreadful a piece of tyranny as newspaper-writers and platform-speakers would make you believe, the people would have been glad enough to be rid of anything so hateful, and would not have needed to be frightened out of it by the terror of the law. Facts speak for themselves.

But to proceed with my history. The Book of Common Prayer was now part and parcel of the law of the land; an act of parliament adopted against the will of the Church, by which I mean, not the clergy only, but the people. Of course nobody was bound in conscience to obey it; but then the clergy must be prepared to forfeit all their goods and suffer imprisonment for life, and the people to pay one shilling sterling every time they stayed away from church. Midsummer-day was fast approaching, the day on which the State-service was ordered to be used in all places of public worship; and to compel compliance on the part of the clergy, the government sent out commissioners under the royal authority to go

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through the rural districts and administer the oath of supremacy to the officials, ecclesiastical and lay. They were empowered to suspend or deprive all such as would not conform to the new religion, and to appoint others in their places; as also to proceed against the refractory by imprisonment, Church censures, or any means whether legal or illegal. They were also furnished with a body of injunctions, one of which is so curious, as showing the moral and social condition of the "reformed" clergy, that I will quote it here. After reciting the scandal that had arisen to the Church by lack of discreet and sober behavior in many of the ministers, both in choosing of their wives and in living with them, it directs that no priest or deacon shall marry without permission given by the bishop of the diocese, and *two justices of the peace* living next to the place where the woman hath made her most abode before marriage, nor without the good will of her parents or next kinsfolk, or, for lack of such, *of her master or mistress* where she liveth. Bishops also were not to marry without the approval of the metropolitan, and likewise *of commissioners appointed by the Queen* in such behalf.

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Another injunction respecting the removal of holy images from the churches was the occasion of the grossest outrage. Some of the more violent reformers went beyond the royal wishes, and destroyed every painting or decoration in which the figures of our Blessed Lord and His Apostles were depicted, or which even represented the events of Bible history; and not content with this, they tore down all coats of arms, and broke in pieces the effigies which marked the monuments of the illustrious dead. Nay, their rage extended to the very bells that hung in the steeples, to the steeples themselves, and the buildings to which they were attached. The havoc that was done by these fanatics surpasses all belief; to such a pitch indeed did it arrive at last, that Elizabeth was compelled to interfere. The images were to be spared, provided—and I beg you to mark this—they were "not for any religious honor," but were "the images of kings, princes or nobles, estates of this realm, that had been put up for the only memory of them to their posterity." Saints, martyrs, confessors, bishops, doctors, holy virgins, even the Virgin of virgins, the Blessed Mother of God, nay, the Crucified Himself, all might be broken, battered, ground to powder;

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but kings, princes, nobles, lords, gentlemen and ladies, these it was sacrilege to touch, and something like high treason against our sovereign Queen and the majesty of these realms. Such was the *national* religion which Elizabeth set up in place of the Catholic, and such in its mind and spirit is the Established Church at the present day.

However, the question that interests us here is, how the clergy and the people acted, and in what manner they were treated. And first as to the bishops. The Parliament had not been dissolved a week, before they were summoned to the Queen's presence, and every motive urged to induce them to yield to her pretensions. By death and exile the number of prelates then in occupation of sees had been reduced to fifteen; they one and all refused, and were dismissed with threats and scorn. The government looked in vain for any colorable plea whereon to proceed against them; and when, after much devising, nothing of the sort appeared, it was resolved to tender to each the oath of supremacy at such times as might seem expedient, in the hope of thus concealing from the eyes of the nation as much as possible the startling sight of a whole hierarchy suppressed by the

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mere fiat of the State, simply because they would not accept a new religion at its dictation. By the end of the year, the episcopal bench was cleared; one only of all the Catholic prelates was found base or weak enough to take the oath, and he had "always believed or professed," says Soames, "according to the last act of Parliament, which means the last enunciation of the royal will." The rest were deprived of their sees and sent to prison; of whom some shortly died; others succeeded in escaping to the Continent; others, as time went on, were transferred to private custody; while the few that remained lingered on in close confinement all their days. Another motive for delaying their ejection was the necessity of creating a Protestant episcopate; for if the Catholic bishops refused to conform, who were to consecrate the new prelates, or to give them even the semblance of ecclesiastical authority? Here, then, would be the place to tell you how the "bishops" of the State-Church came into existence; but as this would carry me too far away from my immediate object, I will only say that they were set up simply and solely by the royal power, in violation of all law and precedent, both of the Church and of the realm;

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and that for more than one just reason they never were regarded as true bishops by the Catholic Church. I say *never;* for from that time to this, not a single "bishop" of the Established Church, not even the "Archbishop" of Canterbury, for all his high sounding title, has been any thing else in the eyes of the ancient Catholic Church of this and of other lands but a simple layman.

The monasteries were now broken up. Some of the religious sent adrift into the world were kindly sheltered by the ambassador of Spain, and conducted in safety to the coast of Flanders. Three whole convents of monks and nuns also found an asylum on the same hospitable shores; most of the latter choosing rather to abandon their native land than be denied the liberty of living in religious community. The rest shifted for themselves as best they could. Of the higher clergy, deans, prependaries, archdeacons, and the leading members of the Universities, by far the greater number gave up their offices and emoluments sooner than take the obnoxious oath, or adopt the Parliamentary Prayer-Book; and many in consequence received practical proof of what the Protestants meant by liberty of conscience by

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being put in prison. As to the clergy generally, though no exact account has come down to our days, it is plain from incidental testimony that great numbers must have remained constant in the faith. We find, for instance, that such was the deficiency of clergy, notwithstanding the restoration of those Prostestant ministers who had been deprived in Mary's reign, that "for several years," says Hallam, "it was a common practice to appoint laymen, usually mechanics, to read the service in the vacant churches." "So many churches in country towns and villages were vacant," says Neal, "that in some places there was no preaching, nor so much as reading a homily, for many months together. In sundry parishes it was hard to find persons to baptize, or bury the dead." "The new clergy," says Dr. Heylin, "was made up of cobblers, weavers, tinkers, tanners, card-makers, fiddlers, tailors, bag-pipers, &c." In the diocese of Ely, we are told that in the year 1560 a hundred parishes had no ministers; and in that of Norwich, in the year 1562, one-third of the benefices was unoccupied; again, the Bishop of Bangor writes that he had but two preachers in all his diocese; nor is there any thing to show that

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these three dioceses were worse off than the rest. But not the rural districts only, the towns also were destitute of competent instructors. In 1563, the Speaker of the House of Commons complained that many of the great market-towns were without either school or preacher. Again, it is a fact that for many years the two Universities yielded but few candidates for Protestant orders, the great majority of the members remaining attached to the old religion. Oxford indeed was so "Popish" at heart, that Jewel, the Protestant Bishop of Salisbury, complained that there were not above two in that University of reformed opinions; and those he adds "so dispirited as to be good for nothing." Strype also records that as late as 1578 there were at Exeter College not more than four Protestants out of eighty members, "all the rest being secret or open Roman affectionaries;" and another annalist, Wood, writes that Oxford was "so empty after the Catholics left it, that there was very seldom a sermon preached in the University church." Such numbers were ejected from the several colleges, that "the University," he says, "seemed to be entirely destroyed;" he also tells us that the persons left at Oxford were so few and so illiterate,

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that an order came out "that such as were mean readers should con over before hand once or twice the chapters and homilies, to the intent they might read to the better understanding of the people and the more encouragement of godliness." At the same time leave was given to make use of the Common Prayer in the Latin tongue, "there being some danger," he says, "of losing that language in the University;" to which he adds, that there were but some three persons "that could preach with any reputation," and that sermons of the most ridiculous kind were constantly delivered.

But further; outward conformity was no proof of any belief in Protestantism. The "Church of England," so far from being founded on liberty of conscience, was not founded even on the mistaken convictions of its own adherents; on the contrary, it was forced upon the nation against the consciences both of those who rejected it and of those who conformed. Bishop Burnet says that "*the greatest part of the clergy* retained their affections to the old superstition that those in King Edward's time had; so that if Queen Elizabeth had not lived so long as she did, till all that generation was dead, and a new set of men,

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better educated and principled, were grown up and put in their rooms, and if a prince of another religion had succeeded before that time, they had probably turned about again to the old superstition as nimbly as they had done before in Queen Mary's days." Thus, by the acknowledgment of one who wrote expressly in support of the English Reformation in general, and the Established Church in particular, it appears that the great bulk of the clergy who conformed to the State religion were men of no learning and no principle. Not a single man amongst them, be it observed, professed himself a Protestant till it was made penal to do otherwise; until, that is, it became a question of abandoning either their incomes or their faith.

And now as to the laity. Of peers of Parliament the oath of supremacy was not exacted; a master-stroke of policy, which conciliated those who by their position and influence might have given the government most trouble, and made them the more careless as to the fate of the clergy and the people. But to the mass of the population the law was by no means a dead letter. It has been asserted, indeed, says Hallam, that "by systematic con-

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nivance the Roman Catholics enjoyed a pretty free use of their religion for the first fourteen years of Elizabeth's reign. But this is not reconcilable with many passages in Strype's collections. We find *abundance of persons* harassed for recusancy, that is, for not attending the Protestant Church, and driven to insincere promises of conformity. Others were dragged before ecclesiastical commissioners for harboring priests, or for sending money to those who had fled beyond sea. Students of the inns of court, where Popery had a strong hold at this time, were examined in the Star-chamber as to their religion, and on not giving satisfactory answers were committed to the Fleet." Even during the first three year of her reign, "we find," says the same author, "instances of severity towards Catholics; and it is evident that their solemnities were performed only by stealth, and at much hazard. Thus, Sir Edward Waldegrave and his lady were sent to the Tower, in 1561, for hearing Mass and having a priest in their house. *Many others* about the same time were punished for the like offence;" among the rest, Lord Loughborough, who had been much favored by the late Queen. Many of the Protestant bishops,

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unlike their Catholic predecessors in Mary's reign, were among the chief instigators of the persecution. In the same year the Bishop of Carlisle complained to Cecil that certain great men had hindered him from "punishing" the people as in his opinion they deserved; for, said he, "they neither acknowledge the Queen's majesty's supremacy, neither yet obey me as ordinary." In 1562 two of them are found informing the Council of a priest, who had been apprehended in the house of Lady Carew, and with a cruel playfulness suggesting that, "if this priest were put to some kind of torment, and so driven to confess what he knoweth, he might gain the Queen's majesty a good *mass* of money by the *Masses* that he hath said; but this we refer to your lordships' wisdom."

But Protestants have boasted that the Catholics generally attended the law service for some years. This, in the main, is true; but what spirit, or from what motive, did they attend? Simply to save their shillings, and to prevent themselves getting into trouble—not from any liking for Protestantism or the "Prayer-book;" and they thought themselves free from guilt because their neighbors did the

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same, and every body knew they acted from compulsion. It is a well-attested fact, that many who went to the Protestant Church in public assisted privately at Mass; nay, a Catholic historian, who wrote in Elizabeth's reign, declares that many of the conformist priests themselves not only said Mass in private, but brought the Blessed Sacrament with them secretly to the churches, and there communicated such as they knew to be prepared to receive; while to the eyes of the uninitiated they seemed to administer nothing but the Protestant "bread and wine." It must not be supposed, however, that the faithful clergy of the Church allowed them to remain in ignorance of the sin they were committing and abetting by thus putting the law of man before the law of God. Books were circulated among the people, instructing them in their duty, and exposing the errors of the new religion. In these publications, as Protestants have acknowledged, the Queen's title was not impeached, nor her government assailed; yet—such was the regard paid by the founders of the Protestant Church to the boasted right of private judgment—they were declared to be illegal, and a penalty set on

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reading or retaining them. It is admitted, then, that the Catholics attended the Protestant service "till," as Hallam says, "it came to be reckoned a distinctive sign of their having renounced their own religion. They frequented our churches because the law compelled them by law so to do, not out of a notion that very little change had been made by the Reformation." But from the first there were, as I have said, numbers who never even outwardly conformed; and in many parts of the country people of all ranks absented themselves from the churches.

Elizabeth's second Parliament was held in the year 1563. The Catholics had conducted themselves as peaceable subjects: Lord Montague could even say of them in Parliament, "They disturb not nor hinder the public affairs of the realm, neither spiritual nor temporal. They dispute not, they preach not, they disobey not the Queen, they cause no trouble nor tumults among the people; so that no man can say that thereby the realm doth receive any hurt or damage by them." "It cannot, as it appears to me," says Hallam, "be truly alleged that any greater provocation had as yet been given by the Catholics than that

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of pertinaciously continuing to believe and worship as their fathers had done before them. I request those who may hesitate about this to pay some attention to the order of time before they form their opinions." Pope Pius IV., who had succeeded Paul IV., so far from adopting any hostile measures against the Queen, had in 1560 and the following year, addressed conciliatory letters to her, in which he begged her to send ambassadors to the Council of Trent then sitting, and declared his readiness "to do all things needful both for the health of her soul and the establishment of her royal dignity." Anyhow, you would suppose that enough had been done in the way of penal legislation, particularly for the establishment of a religion which people would have you believe was embraced by a grateful and enthusiastic nation, exulting in its freedom from the shackles of Popish domination. What must be your surprise, then, when I tell you that Parliament was no sooner assembled than it set to work again to enact still more persecuting laws! As yet none but such as had cure of souls, or held office under government, were required to take the oath of supremacy; the obligation was now extended

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to "all sorts and conditions of men." The oath was to be imposed, first, on all members of the House of Commons, all schoolmasters, private tutors, and attorneys; secondly, on all persons in holy orders, or who were connected with any ecclesiastical court, or who in words or writing defamed the established worship, or celebrated or attended any private Mass; in other words, on the whole Catholic population. The penalty of refusal was also increased. To the first division indeed, the oath was to be tendered only once, and on refusal they incurred the forfeiture of all their goods and chattels, and imprisonment for life; but to the second division, *the clergy and the people* (for they always go together), the oath was to be tendered twice, and on the second refusal the penalty was DEATH, and that the most terrible of deaths. Yes, the statute-books of this free country attest the truth of what I say: the Englishman who dared to worship God as his fathers had done from time immemorial, did so at the risk of being savagely tortured to death; of being first hanged, then cut open alive, and his yet palpitating heart torn out of his body. Here was liberty of conscience with a vengeance!

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Of course no one imagines that the Queen, or the government, or the Protestant bishops were anxious to put this murderous law into execution; no doubt they would have preferred that the people should submit quietly. They knew very well that if once the Catholics could be made outwardly to conform, their affection for the ancient worship would diminish, and that gradually they would take up with the State religion; at any rate, their children would grow up Protestants. All that was wanted was their bodily presence; time and the force of habit, they hoped, would do the rest. But there—mark you—the terrible engine was ready for use whenever the interests of the State required; and use it they did, and seemed to revel in the use of it, as we shall see in the sequel.

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QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER PEOPLE.

II.

Why did the Pope Excommunicate Queen Elizabeth?

NEW YORK:
EDWARD DUNIGAN AND BROTHER,
151 FULTON ST., NEAR BROADWAY.

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QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER PEOPLE.

WHY DID THE POPE EXCOMMUNICATE QUEEN ELIZABETH?

DID the Pope excommunicate Queen Elizabeth? He did. Did he declare her deposed from the throne of England, and release her subjects from their allegiance? He did; and in my present Number I shall tell you the reason why. I may observe, by the way, that I am not bound as a Catholic to justify his conduct. That the Pope possesses the power of deposing temporal sovereigns, or that he exercised it rightly or prudently in this particular case, is no part of the Catholic faith; and there have been Catholic writers who denied both the one and the other. But nevertheless, I engage to show you that this exercise of authority, irreconcilable as it may appear with modern ideas, was not only in accordance with

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the received maxims of that age, but in no way opposed to those principles of civil liberty which have received the highest sanction in this land.

There is nothing like making our opponent's case our own: it renders us remarkably clear-sighted as to the justice of his cause. Let us, then, suppose a state of things in this country like the following:

Let us suppose that from time immemorial the English nation (as well as Europe in general) had been Protestant, and Protestant only. This supposition certainly requires a wide stretch of imagination, but it is necessary in order to make my parallel complete. At length (let us imagine) a religious revolution takes place among the nations, and a tyrannical king arises in England, who, without making any positive changes in other respects, takes to himself the supreme authority in spiritual things over all persons in the realm; puts himself in the place of those who have been regarded by the people as the heads of their religion; and makes it treason to deny his pretensions, or to refuse submission to his usurped dominion. At his death he is succeeded by his son, who, by means of an arbi-

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trary government, pushes still further the changes which his father had commenced. He introduces new-fangled doctrines from abroad, and tolerates no other. He reigns, let us suppose, but seven years, and at his death the ancient order of things is restored: a Protestant queen ascends the throne; Protestant institutions revive; Protestant principles again prevail; the old laws and usages resume their sway; the old religious leaders take their accustomed places, and England is once more a Protestant country. The government carry things with a strong hand: Popery, or whatever you may please to call the usurping power,—for remember the whole history is merely imaginary,—is put down, and Protestant ascendancy is re-established in Church and State. This state of things does not last long: the Protestant queen dies after a reign of only five years, and her Popish sister mounts the throne,—Popish, that is, in heart and in design, for while her sister was in power she professed herself a Protestant. She is not the rightful heir to the crown, being but the illegitimate daughter of the tyrannical king of whom I spoke; but for political reasons the legitimate heir is unpopular among

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all classes, and her opponent's title is acknowledged without opposition.

Well, having supposed so much, let us suppose a little more: the new queen dissembles for a while; she feels her way; she proceeds softly and stealthily; she tries the strength and dispositions of the opposite party; but after a few weeks' maturing of her plans, finding a spirit of indifference abroad and her Popish adherents resolute and ready, she avows herself, what secretly she had always been, a Papist. Popery comes in like a flood. The Popish refugees, who during the former reign had been plotting and breeding rebellion against this crown and realm, return from exile and are loaded with favors by the court. The old staunch supporters of the Protestant cause are ejected from all posts of authority or trust, and "bigoted Papists" occupy their places. False-hearted Protestants show themselves in their true colors, betray their religion, or by their tame submission encourage the evil intentions of the government.

The queen takes the usual coronation-oath to support the Protestant religion as by law established; but it is with a mental reservation, which leaves her free, as she imagines,

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to construe it in a sense which it never bore before, and which is the very contrary of that in which the people understand the words she uses. Even before she takes it she has violated it, not only in intention but in deed; for she had contrived a plot in conjunction with a few secret advisers, by which a great and heavy blow is to be dealt against the Protestant religion, and Popery raised to sovereign power. A servile parliament executes her will, the Papal supremacy is proclaimed, and every holder of office or aspirant thereto, whether in Church or State, must take the oath, or forfeit all hope of honors or emoluments; nay, it is enforced with the highest penalties of the law, and life-long imprisonment and death are the punishments awarded for non-conforming. No class of subjects, except that of the highest nobles, is exempted: pastors and people must take the oath if tended to them, or, by the terms of the law, die the death of traitors.

We will complete this fabulous history by supposing the Protestant people of this country forced to be present at Popish worship. Dragged to their own old churches, now occupied by Popish priests, they are compelled to

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witness rites which they abhor, and to hear sermons reviling their own belief, or inculcating doctrines which are strange and odious to them. To refuse attendance is to be fined; to worship after their own manner, and as their forefathers had worshipped, is to bring themselves under the power of the law which dooms them to "obscene and horrible mutilation." They who believe and love their religion are forced to betake themselves to secret chambers and desert places, where, hidden from the eyes of men, they may worship with their fellows, listen to the word of God, or partake of such religious rites as they or their children may require. Their life is spent in continual fear; for they know that it is in the power of false friends, treacherous domestics, or any common informer, to tear them from the bosom of their families, ruin them in their fortunes, cast them into prison, or hurry them to the scaffold and the ripping-knife.

I have put an imaginary case of a Popish sovereign persecuting her Protestant subjects; a case, however, which you know very well finds its exact counterpart in the conduct of Elizabeth towards the Catholics of this country. For "Popish" read "Protestant," and

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vice versâ, and you will have a pretty accurate description of the condition of English Catholics during the first ten years of Elizabeth's rule. Up to the middle of Henry's reign, England had been from time immemorial a Catholic country; and it was not till the accession of Edward that Protestant doctrines were spread among the people. All the ancient traditions, customs, laws and liberties, successes and glories of the nation were bound up with the Catholic religion. From time immemorial the Pope, as successor of the Apostle Peter, had been held to be the head of the great Christian commonwealth, and as such was acknowledged and honored in England. Protestantism was a new thing in the land; it was a revolt against the highest moral and religious authority in the world; it was opposed to all the cherished associations of the people. They felt, as they had every right to feel, that no earthly power was justified in depriving them of what was their dearest and most valued heritage. Their faith was not only a possession, it was a portion of their life, of themselves. To force them not to hear Mass, or frequent the Sacraments, was to rob them, as they knew, of the precious fruits of

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Christ's blood-shedding, and to subject them to the deepest misery of which the human soul is capable. England had ever been their Catholic home; and what were kings or queens, that they should ravage and lay it waste? Why were they to be shut out, not only from their beloved churches, which the piety of their fathers had built and adorned, and which were theirs by every title human and divine, but even from those sacred and adorable mysteries, without which their churches were but as the tombs of the dead? Yet this is what Elizabeth was bent on doing.

How she commenced the evil work I have shown you in my last Number: to draw out the parallel at length would be only to repeat what I have already said. That the picture I gave you in my imaginary history is not in the least overdrawn, I will prove to you from Protestant authors. Elizabeth was recognized by the nation, if not as a Catholic sovereign, yet as one prepared to protect the Catholic religion. She "dissimulated," as her Protestant biographer says, "for the first six weeks of her reign;" and at her coronation—a fact never to be forgotten—she took the oath which had been taken by all Catholic sovereigns.

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Thus having got the reins of government into her hands, and collected her friends about her, she proceeded to suppress the very religion which she had sworn to defend, and to persecute its faithful professors, though, far from disputing her title, they were even forward in maintaining it. It is acknowledged by all historians that up to the year 1563, when Parliament passed new and more stringent laws against the Catholics, the latter had done nothing to exasperate the government or disturb the peace of the State. Whatever dissatisfaction they felt—and I do not see how Protestants should expect them to be contented with the sort of legislation adopted against them—strange to say, they had committed no overt acts of disaffection. Hallam says, that "partly through political circumstances, but *far more from the hard usage they experienced for professing their religion*, there seems to have been an increasing restlessness among the Catholics about 1562;" he also expresses his "thorough conviction that the *persecution*, for it can obtain no better name, carried on against the English Catholics, however it might seem to delude the government by producing an apparent conformity, could not but excite a spirit of

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disloyalty in many adherents of the faith." Such, he conceives, was but the natural result of oppression; but in a passage quoted in my last, he declares that the Catholics "had as yet given no further provocation than that of pertinaciously continuing to believe and worship as their fathers had done before them." Sir James Mackintosh likewise says, that "the first *ten* years of Elizabeth's domestic administration were a season of undisturbed quiet."

This fact, of course, makes the case only so much the worse against Elizabeth and the Protestant party. The five years of Mary's reign were far from being a season of quiet. More than one rebellion menaced her throne; the Protestants kept the government in a continual state of alarm, and in a manner provoked it to acts of sanguinary vengeance. Elizabeth went much more deliberately to work: she had laws enacted *in terrorem*, put them in force so far as it was discreet so to do, or reserved them for use at a more convenient season. It was thus she acted in regard to the statute passed in the first year of her reign. "The law which rendered it penal to hear Mass," says the Protestant historian, Miss Aikin, "was put in force against several per-

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sons of rank, that the example might strike the more terror." She then mentions the cases of Sir E. Waldegrave and Lord Loughborough, and adds that against the former, "it is to be feared much cruelty was exercised during his imprisonment; for it is said to have occasioned his death, which occurred in the Tower a few months afterwards. The High Commission Court now began to take cognizance of what was called recusancy; it also encouraged information against such as refrained from joining in the established worship; and numerous professors of the old religion, both ecclesiastics and laity, were summoned on one account or other before this tribunal. Of these some were committed to prison; others restricted from entering certain places, as the two universities, or circumscribed within the limits of some town or country; and most were bound in great penalties to be forthcoming whenever it should be required." Mackintosh also, after citing the same instances, says, "When such facts are still extant and accessible, it is certain that the madness of fanaticism, and the officious servility of petty tyrants in many cases unknown to us, must have employed bad laws for objects beyond their detestable purpose."

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He doubts whether in these early times the "persecution extended to capital punishment, or comprehended very numerous victims;" nor do I mean to assert that such was the case; all I wish you to see is that the murderous engine stood ready for use, and that it required only a word or a sign to set it in motion. As I said in my last, no one pretends that Elizabeth and her government were anxious to execute the barbarous laws they had enacted; in other words (as Dr. Lingard expresses it), to "drench the scaffolds in every part of the kingdom with the blood" of British subjects. "The queen" (he thinks) "was appalled at the prospect before her," as well indeed she might be; "she communicated her sentiments to the metropolitan; and that prelate, by a circular but secret letter, admonished the bishops, who had been appointed to administer the oath," and who were disposed to show no mercy, "to proceed with lenity and caution, and never to make a second tender," (refusal in such case involving nothing less than death as its penalty,) "till they had acquainted him with the circumstance of the case, and had received his answer. Thus, by the humanity or policy of Elizabeth, were the Catholics allowed to

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breathe from their terrors; but *the sword was still suspended over their heads by a single hair*, which she could break at her pleasure, whenever she might be instigated by the suggestions of their enemies, or provoked by the real or imputed misconduct of individuals of their communion." This breathing time, however, was far from being one of rest or freedom from alarms. A writer in the *Pictorial History of England*, commenting on the statute which forbade the using of any but the established liturgy, and imposed a fine of one shilling on all who absented themselves from the Protestant church, says, "By this act the Catholic rites, however privately celebrated, were interdicted, and priests and monks who said Mass and prayed in the old fashion, had a mark set upon them to be hunted like wild beasts. In some respects, where it was not deemed expedient to irritate persons of very high rank, the government connived at the secret or domestic exercise of the Roman religion; but *such cases were rare even in the early part of Elizabeth's reign,* and the restored Protestant clergy, who had learned no toleration from their own sufferings, propelled the agents of government into the paths of persecution—a persecution

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not fiery, hot, and bloody, like that of the late reign, but petty, minute, destructive of individual liberty, household independence, domestic peace, and too often of property." Hallam also thus describes the condition of the Catholics at this time. Their clergy, he says, were obliged to "travel the country in various disguises. By stealth, at the dead of night, in private chambers, in the secret lurking-places of an ill-peopled country, with all the mystery that subdues the imagination, with all the mutual trust that invigorates constancy, these proscribed ecclesiastics celebrated their solemn rites, more impressive in their concealment than if surrounded by all their former splendor."

Now I ask you, would "Englishmen and Protestants" have submitted to treatment such as this? You know they would not: then why should Englishmen and Catholics? You know that Protestants would not have submitted, for they did not submit in Mary's reign; so far from submitting, they resisted and rebelled, and justified their rebellion by the most immoral doctrines.* The Protestants

* See No. 7, The Smithfield Fires, pp. 4–6

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of that day not only deemed it right to take up arms against their sovereign in defence of their religious opinions, but declared it to be a sin to obey "ungodly"—by which they meant Catholic—princes, and an act most pleasing to Heaven to put them to a violent death. This was the common language of all the pretended reformers; and it would not be difficult to show that more sovereign princes were dispossessed of the whole or a part of their dominions by their Protestant subjects within the first century after the great defection from the Church, than were deposed by Pope or Papists either before or since. In France, Flanders, and Scotland, the insurgents were encouraged by Elizabeth herself, who secretly assisted them both with men and money, while openly she professed to be at peace with the respective governments. Again, therefore, I ask, if Protestants may rightly do such things, why not Catholics also? Why may not Catholics take arms in defence of their religious liberties, or to avert the impending blow of persecution?

From the several passages which I have brought together from Protestant sources, you may be able to form some conception of the state to which Catholics of this country were

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reduced by a Protestant queen and government; and I think you must be struck with wonder that, in spite of all the provocation they received, the horrible laws by which they were threatened, and the harassing measures that were adopted against both their religion and their persons, they refrained from asserting their rights by force of arms. The persecution, though it occasionally paused, never really ceased; Protestantism, having its enemy by the throat, never for an instant relaxed its hold, but from time to time made its pressure felt by the infliction of fresh indignities. Thus, "in 1568," says Mackintosh, "a notable mark of the queen's displeasure was fixed on the ancient religion by the exclusion of Catholics from court. Shortly after, they were excluded from the bar, by an order in council, which directed the benchers or governors of the inns of court, the places of legal education, to enforce the oath of supremacy upon all candidates for the bar or the bench." "In 1569," says Hallam, "a profession of conformity was required from all justices of the peace, which some refused, and others made against their consciences." Elizabeth never relented; so far from tolerating or conniving at the Catho-

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lic religion even in its most private exercise, she had made up her mind to root it out of the land; and the only question with her was, what means would most effectually accomplish her purpose. The Catholics saw plainly that they lived only on sufferance; that the destruction of their religion was resolved upon; and that that destruction, if needs be, would be brought about by their political annihilation, if not personal ruin. They had patiently endured ten long years of unrelieved oppression, and all for what? for nothing else than refusing to abandon the ancient faith of Christendom, and to accept a new creed at the dictation of a dominant party in this island! If ever resistance to a tyrannical government be justifiable, it had become so now in England; and the Protestants of this country, be they of what denomination they may, are bound by their own principles to acknowledge that, if Catholics rose in arms against Elizabeth, they had right and justice on their side, or at least that they did nothing but what they would themselves have done under similar circumstances.

This fact established, I will shortly notice two or three events which immediately pre-

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ceded the issuing of the famous bull of excommunication. On the 16th of May, 1568, Mary Queen of Scots (who by direct descent was the rightful heir to the throne), after a disastrous battle, in which her forces were defeated by certain rebel lords, who with the secret encouragement of Elizabeth had revolted against their sovereign, took the fatal resolution of throwing herself on the protection of her sister queen. She sent her the diamond heart which Elizabeth had formerly given her as a token of friendship and good faith, and without waiting for a reply, landed on the English shore. Elizabeth redeemed her pledge and repaid the confidence of Mary by making her her prisoner; and not content with this, she sought to get James also, Mary's infant son, into her power, that thus she might hold in her hands every living being that stood in immediate proximity to the throne. This step proved in the end as injurious to her own peace as it was unjust towards her victim. At the close of the year 1569, a plot was detected which had for its object the release of Mary from prison, and her marriage with the *Protestant* Duke of Norfolk. No harm was intended to the person or the government of Elizabeth;

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but on its discovery Norfolk was committed to the Tower. His imprisonment was soon followed by a formidable insurrection on the part of the old Catholic nobility and gentry in the north, at the head of which were the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. Its object seems to have been, not the dethronement of Elizabeth, but the obtaining a declaration on her part that the Queen of Scots was next heir to the throne. In their proclamations the insurgents called on all true Englishmen to join with them in restoring the crown, the nobility, and the worship of God to their former estate; and declared among other things that what they desired was "to obtain liberty for their consciences, and to settle true religion on such foundations as might supersede the interference of foreign princes." On their banner was depicted the Sacred Body of Christ with the five precious wounds; and it was borne before them by a venerable old man of the name of Norton, who with his five sons had devoted himself to the rescue of the Catholic religion. On reaching Durham they "purified the Cathedral," as Mackintosh expresses it, "by burning the heretical (and, in their opinion, unfaithful) versions of the Bible,

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and the books of public devotion which had been profaned by heretics." But though the rebellion was certainly headed by Catholics, and one of its objects was the restoration of the Catholic religion, yet great numbers of them joined the royal forces. I give no credit to them for so doing; I simply state the fact as one of which Protestants ought to take account. Camden asserts that, instead of responding to the appeal of the insurgents, the Catholics "for the most part handed over the letters they had received, and even the bearers of them, into the queen's hands. In all parts of the country they vied with each other in offering their fortunes and their services in aid against the rebels; so that, beholding the singular fidelity of her subjects, she returned most grateful thanks to the Divine mercy." The attempt was soon crushed, and terrible was Elizabeth's vengeance on the rebels. Her biographer tells us, that "besides executing such of the leaders as fell into her hands, she compelled her victorious general to deluge the northern counties with the blood of the simple unreflecting peasants, who had been induced to join the revolt. Learned research," she says, "has brought to light some hideous

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facts;" and she adds, "staunch indeed must be the admirers of 'Good Queen Bess,' who can calmly peruse the order which, *by special commandment of the queen*," the Earl of Sussex addressed to the chief officer in command, Sir George Bowes, and in which he set down the numbers to be put to death in every town; with a special proviso, however, that he was not to execute any that had freeholds or were noted wealthy, "for so is the Queen's Majesty's pleasure;" the said Queen's Majesty having determined to reserve such as possessed lands or chattels for trial in the courts of law, that so their forfeitures might furnish her with funds to discharge the expenses of the campaign, and remunerate her adherents. The number of those who were thus attainted was fifty-seven; but of the country people *every fifth man* was marked for execution in Sussex's book. Cecil also had advised that a few inhabitants of each township should be apprehended and compelled by imprisonment, and, "if need should, *by lack of food*, to disclose the names of those among their neighbors who had joined the rebels." "The fearful order being tardily executed," proceeds Miss Strickland, "Sussex wrote to spur on the reluctant

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ministers of the royal vengeance," telling his correspondent that "the Queen's Majesty doth much marvel that she doth not hear from me that the execution is yet ended," and expressing a fear that "this lingering will breed displeasure to us both." Nay, not content with this, Elizabeth sent her general with a military force to burn and lay waste nearly three hundred villages in the border counties of Scotland, because Mary's subjects had, as she said, encouraged the rebels in the north of England. Such was the justice tempered with mercy for which the name of Elizabeth has been graced with the title of "good." "In the end the richer sort purchased their lives, but no less than eight hundred of the working classes perished by the hands of the executioner!" "In the county of Durham alone," writes Dr. Lingard, "more than three hundred individuals suffered death" (the old man Norton and his sons among the number);—"nor was there between Newcastle and Wetherby (a district of sixty miles in length and forty in breadth) a town or village in which some of the inhabitants did not expire on the gibbet as a warning to their fellows. The survivors were at length pardoned, but *on condition* that they

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should take not only the oath of allegiance, but also that of *supremacy.*" That is to say—and I beg your particular attention to the fact—it was a hanging matter to refuse to swear that the queen was head of the Church. The poor Catholic had to choose between losing his life or damning his soul.

Not long after this Elizabeth published a declaration, intended to conciliate the people, in which she graciously announced that she would "make no inquiry into the consciences of her subjects, *provided they observed her laws by coming to common prayer:*" in other words, as a writer in the *Pictorial History of England* observes, she "insisted that all her Catholic subjects should go regularly to the Protestant church, and be in other respects to all appearance Protestants!" These two facts alone are enough to prove how false it is to say, that Catholics were persecuted, not for their religion, but for their disaffection. We have seen the refusal to acknowledge the queen's supremacy made high treason, and the Catholic religion suppressed by law; and when the people rebelled against this tyranny, we see that they could obtain pardon only by renouncing, not their rebellion merely, but their faith. Such,

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then, being the state of the case, I think that all fair and candid Protestants must allow that the Catholics in Elizabeth's reign had a right to take up arms for their deliverance.

But if the Catholics were justified in having recourse to arms, the Pope was equally justified in encouraging and abetting them; and that he did so in the case of the northern insurgents, by the help of his apostolic penitentiary, Dr. Morton, I have not the smallest wish to deny. Whatever our enemies may say, Catholics have never held that it is lawful to do evil that good may come. They have never thought they might rebel in the *bad* sense of the word, even to obtain the free exercise of their religion. They have vindicated rebellion only where it was *good* to rebel. The Catholics of those times believed they might lawfully resist, and even oppose by force of arms, such rulers as governed not according to the principles of justice and true religion; but they were possessed with a conviction that subjects were not the best judges in their own case, and that it was safer to leave the decision of so difficult a question to a higher and an independent authority. They understood too well the horrors of civil war, and the spiritual

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evils that always follow in its train; and besides, their faith taught them that temporal government was an ordinance of God, and to be obeyed therefore at much personal sacrifice. They believed that rulers, whether emperors or kings, or the chief magistrates of a free state, were, as St. Paul declares (Rom. xiii. 4), "God's ministers and avengers," and that it was only impiety and tyranny of the extremest sort that could justify revolt against their authority. As no man, or body of men, has a right to wage war unless at the command or with the permission of the supreme magistrate in the state, so were they persuaded that to rise against their rulers was a crime against God and against society, unless the act were sanctioned by that supreme spiritual power to which the nations of Europe were wont to look for guidance in such matters,—the chair of blessed Peter, whose successor, in the person of the Pope, still reigned at Rome. Such, I repeat, was the conviction of that age. Up to the time of the so-called Reformation the Pope had exercised a power, which, though based on his purely spiritual prerogatives, was temporal in its reach and action. It matters not that princes did not acquiesce in every instance of

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its exercise: they who are in the wrong very commonly protest against the authority that condemns them; besides, in protesting, they did not deny the existence of the authority, but only complained that it was unjustly exercised in their particular case. The authority, then, existed, and was recognized, and appealed to, not only by one sovereign against another, but by the people against their rulers. The supremacy of the Pope was felt to be the mainstay of all authority and the bulwark of popular liberty. Any how it was the manner of the age: the nations would have it so. They believed it to be a common benefit to have a supreme judge or arbitrator in their differences; and the Popes found themselves invested with an office, which was none of their seeking,* but which they saw it was salutary for them to discharge, and which, when thus invited by the united voice of kings and people, they exercised with no ordinary vigor and decision. Such, so to speak, was the international law of Europe; and it is folly to ignore the fact, or to reason as if it never had existed.

But now as to this claim to depose kings,

* See the five Tracts in this series on "The Temporal Power of the Pope."

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and, what is still more obnoxious in Protestant eyes, absolve subjects from their allegiance. Protestants can have no right to brand as "impious" and "damnable" in the Pope the exercise of a power which they have ever arrogated to themselves. Luther absolved the Germans from their obedience to the emperor Charles V. Calvin and Beza called on the Huguenots of France to rise against their sovereign. John Knox and the Presbyterian clergy of Scotland thundered out their anathemas against the queen regent, and afterwards against the unfortunate Mary; declaring that "no oath or promise can oblige any man to obey or give assistance to tyrants against God." But all Protestants, however moderate in their views, believe that there are cases in which princes may justly be deposed; many even hold that they may be "murdered" by their subjects, if by murdered be meant judicially executed, as were Charles I. of England and Louis XVI. of France,—a "position" which, I may safely affirm, no Pope ever asserted or defended. Protestants, then, I say, very generally believe that princes may be deposed if they violate the rights and liberties of their subjects. They believe that oaths of allegiance cease to bind

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when the sovereign has broken the compact by which he reigns. They hold that the power of releasing from those oaths lies somewhere, whether it be with the chief council of the state, or with the people as represented by a national assembly; and that too whether such power or such assembly be formally recognized by the constitution or not. Nothing, they maintain, can destroy this natural right. The doctrine of non-resistance is certainly no English doctrine. It was to a successful rebellion that the present reigning family were indebted for their elevation to the throne of these realms; and there is scarcely an English or an Irish Protestant who would not style that act of insurrection by which James II. was driven from his dominions, the "glorious revolution of 1688." Not only James but his heirs for ever, being Catholics, were excluded from the crown on the plea that the original contract with the nation had been violated. The line of succession was changed, and the oath of allegiance transferred from one family to another. I have no wish to defend James's arbitrary proceedings; but thus much I will say, that, set the tyranny of the Stuart kings at the highest point you may, you can never make it resemble in kind

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the ruthless persecution which was deliberately perpetrated by Elizabeth against the adherents of the ancient faith.

Another example may be cited. When the American colonies revolted against the mother country England, the Declaration of Independence ran as follows: "We, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; and that *they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown.*" You see, then, that the right of deposing princes and absolving subjects from their allegiance is no exclusive Popish doctrine. Protestants and Catholics are agreed as to the lawfulness of the act under certain circumstances; but in the times of which I have been speaking, and in the then condition of Europe, Catholics held, in accordance with those principles which were only then beginning to be disallowed, that the Pope, as the spiritual Father of Christendom and the head of the great Catholic family, had the

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power to decide *when* the prince had forfeited his claim to the obedience of his subjects, and might justly be deposed from the supreme authority. They believed that to the Pope by right it belonged to pronounce the sentence of deposition; and that, as their oath of allegiance was made to God, so no power less than that of the minister of God was competent to absolve them from it.

One most important fact also there is, which needs much to be considered; and that is, that as in Christendom generally, so in England in particular, up to this time, none but Catholic princes were considered capable of reigning.* Such was the understood law of Europe; and such was the ancient privilege of this realm. Europe, when it had but one faith, was as one religious confederation, with the Pope at its head; and the laws of each kingdom were in accordance with this fundamental principle. The prince who broke the unity of faith, or failed to protect his people in the exercise of their religion, was considered to have, *ipso facto*, forfeited his crown. We read in the laws of

* This was the purport of a bull issued by Pope Paul IV., 15th March, 1559, which has been noticed by historians as aimed at Elizabeth.

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Edward the Confessor, "The king, because he is the vicegerent of the Supreme King, is appointed to this end, to rule the earthly kingdom and people of the Lord; and above all to venerate His holy Church, and defend it from evil-doers, and to root out and destroy, and utterly remove from it, the wicked. Unless he do this he shall not retain so much as the name of king, but, as Pope John declares, shall forfeit the title." Protestants may talk of the bigotry of those times in which the government of Catholic nations was entrusted to Catholic kings alone; but they forget that in this British empire, which, including Ireland and the colonies, contains many millions of Catholics, the sovereign must, by the essential constitution of the realm, as settled at the Revolution, be himself a Protestant, and must swear at his coronation to uphold the Protestant religion. Elizabeth had sworn to maintain the honor, peace, rights, and privileges of the Church, as guaranteed by the laws of King Edward the Confessor as just cited; and the Pope declared her deposed because she had violated her engagement. Now who can doubt, that were Queen Victoria, in the mercy of God, to become a Catholic, the very men

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who are most loud in their condemnation of the Pope, would be foremost in declaring that the Queen of England, by becoming a Papist, had forfeited all claim to the allegiance of a Protestant people? Where, then, is the difference in principle? I see none, except that what is laudable in a Protestant is damnable in a Catholic.

I have now explained to you how it was that the Pope exercised this power of deposing princes; and I have also shown you what good cause he had for putting it in force against Elizabeth. The terms of the bull are but a recital in the general of those acts of tyranny and religious persecution which it has been my object to bring before you. In the face of all the facts which have been adduced, who can doubt but that the Pope spoke the truth, and nothing but the truth, when he declared that Elizabeth had "brought the kingdom, but lately recovered to the Catholic faith, into a lamentable and fatal condition?" "For having by force prohibited the practice of the true religion and embraced the errors of the heretics, she hath destroyed the royal council, which was wont to consist of the ancient nobility of the realm,"—this was one of the grievances of

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which the northern insurgents complained,—"and filled it with men of low extraction and misbelievers; hath oppressed the adherents of the Catholic faith; abolished the sacrifice of the Mass, prayers, fasts, distinction of meats, celibacy, and other Catholic rites; commanded her subjects to comply with ungodly mysteries and practices; ejected bishops, rectors of parishes, and other Catholic priests from their churches and benefices; disposed of their ecclesiastical offices to heretics; forbidden prelates, clergy, and people to recognize the See of Rome, or to obey its precepts and canonical sanctions; compelled many to give in to her nefarious laws, to abjure the authority and obedience of the Roman Pontiff, and to acknowledge her sole mistress both in temporals and spirituals; inflicted pains and penalties on those who, disregarding her dictation, have persevered in the unity of faith and customary obedience; and lastly, hath cast the Catholic bishops and rectors into prison, where many, after languishing long in that sad state, have miserably ended their days." To which he adds, that "seeing this wicked and intolerable treatment has been multiplied to so many instances, and the oppression of religion and

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persecution of the faithful groweth worse and worse, we are constrained of necessity to have recourse to the weapons of justice, although our grief is inconsolable that we are driven to the use of such measures against one whose ancestors have deserved so well of the Christian commonwealth." Upon which follows the sentence of deposition and the absolution of her subjects from their allegiance. This bull was signed, on the 25th of February, 1570, by the then reigning Pontiff Pius V.

A few remarks in conclusion must suffice.

Elizabeth had drawn this sentence on herself by her cruel persecution of her Catholic subjects and the violent suppression of their worship, as well as by her faithless treatment of Mary Queen of Scots and others near the throne. This is undeniable. But further: there is nothing to show that had she dealt justly and humanely with the Catholics, and protected them in the exercise of their religion, the Pope would have endeavored to excite her people against her, even though, as our adversaries must allow, a Protestant sovereign, and one who openly tolerated heresy in a state but lately Catholic, was an innovation on the established order of things. Elizabeth, however,

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was not a Protestant sovereign merely, she was a persecutor of Catholics and of their faith; and Protestants are bound to see and acknowledge this important distinction. Catholics have faithfully served a Protestant monarch; they have ever been peaceable subjects when their religion was let alone. As they have suffered themselves to be stripped of their goods, and their bodies torn in pieces rather than compromise their faith, so nothing is more remarkable than the patience with which they have submitted to persecution from the civil power, even when strong enough to venture on resistance. Let Protestants show us from the whole page of history a single instance of their co-religionists, with equal chances of success, endaring what Catholics endured from Elizabeth without an attempt at insurrection or an isolated act of outrage. Let them show us the third part of a nation submitting for ten years to a galling persecution, which stopped at no act of violence short of actual murder. Why should not their spiritual Father take pity on those for whom their temporal sovereign had no mercy, and bid them rise like one man in defence of liberties which were dearer to them than their lives? Why are princes and

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parliaments, generals and statesmen, to be honored through all time for delivering a "Protestant nation"* from "Popery, slavery, and arbitrary power," and a Pope to be condemned eternally because he did the utmost he could do to emancipate an oppressed and terror-stricken people from the tyranny of an heretical queen and her merciless government? Is it that Protestantism possesses the exclusive right to persecute, because it has the cant of religious liberty on its lips?

Pius V. had charged the Catholics with the execution of the bull; and the better to secure promptness and unanimity of action on their part, had involved in the same sentence of excommunication such as continued to obey Elizabeth as their queen; of course, with the implied condition that they were powerful enough to resist. Nor have Protestants any right to condemn him for this. They have never scrupled to declare that all free-born Englishmen were bound, as they valued their religion and the blessings of civil liberty, to exclude the Stuarts from the throne. Pope Pius, with far more justice on his side, declared

* Containing, in fact, be it remembered, many millions of Catholics.

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that it was the bounden duty of all good Catholics, as they valued the true faith and the liberties of the Church of God (in which, as a matter of fact, were included their civil liberties also), to depose their persecutor, Elizabeth, and acknowledge none but a Catholic as their sovereign. The bull was issued, as I have said, on the 25th of February; early on the morning of the 15th of May, a copy was found affixed to the palace-gates of the Protestant "bishop" of London, which was traced to one Felton, a gentleman of property residing at Southwark. On being taken before the council, he boldly confessed the deed, refused, when put to the torture, to disclose the names of his confederates or advisers, and suffered the horrible death of a traitor with all the spirit and constancy of a martyr. To Elizabeth, as queen, he would give no other title than that of a pretender; but as a token that he bore no ill-will to her person, he sent her a diamond ring, valued at £400, which he drew from his finger as he stood on the scaffold. Had the Catholic gentry, as a body, united this man's generous daring with a wise and vigorous use of the forces they possessed, they might perchance have saved themselves and

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their children's children years, nay centuries, of degradation and oppression, and preserved to their country the inestimable blessing of the true faith. It is impossible now to judge of their resources or their chances of success; but, as a matter of fact, the Catholics, from whatever cause, did not take advantage of the bull. Many of the deprived bishops and clergy even publicly declared that it was not binding upon them; indeed, Protestant historians, as well as contemporary writers, have asserted that the Catholics generally ignored the bull, and "abhorred the very idea of revolt," which, if true, only renders the subsequent bloody persecution the more infamously wicked. Anyhow, there was not even an attempt at insurrection, not a single disturbance of the public peace.

Such being the case, you may suppose, perhaps, that the queen would repeal her persecuting laws, or at least suspend their operation. The very contrary was the fact. She not only put in force the laws which were already in existence, but added others of a severer and more determined character. Perhaps you may say that the laws she added were directed merely against the execution of the Popish

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bull; in other words, against Popish treason. No; they were directed against the exercise, or rather I should say, the existence of the Popish religion.

In this her conduct was without excuse. She could not justly charge the priests of the Church even with uttering seditious doctrines. In the Catholic schools and seminaries for the education of priests abroad (for Catholic schools and colleges were forbidden by law in England), the question of the deposing power—which, though never, as I have said, an article of faith, it had been customary to treat of in the ordinary course of theological study—was absolutely prohibited as a topic of dispute, and the priests who were sent on the English mission were strictly ordered never to discuss it in public or in private, and to abstain from all interference with secular concerns. Nor in a single case was the contrary ever proved against them by their enemies. They were willing to accept Elizabeth as their sovereign in *fact*, and to waive the subject of her *right* altogether. But this did not satisfy the government; and whenever a man was discovered to be a priest, he was questioned and cross-questioned as to his belief in the Pope's deposing

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power. It was not enough that he acknowledged the queen's authority, and expressed his willingness to obey her in all temporal things; it was required that he should abjure the theological opinion, and condemn the exercise of the power under any circumstances whatever. In default of any proveable offence, he was put to the torture and made to convict himself; and they who, like Sir Thomas More, in a similar situation, endeavored to baffle their tormentors by ingenious evasions, have been accused by Protestants of dishonest equivocation. It has even been argued that they who acknowledged the power of a Pope who had issued, or had not retracted, a deposing bull, "lived in a permanent state of treason," and might justly, therefore, be treated as traitors. But this is a mode of reasoning by which, as Mackintosh observes, "all tyranny might be justified, and peace for ever banished from human society." On this subject Hallam also has some just and sensible remarks. "There can be no doubt," he says, "that the allegiance professed to the queen by the seminary priests and Jesuits, and, as far as their influence extended, by all Catholics, was with this reservation—till they should be strong enough to

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throw it off. But after all, when we come fairly to consider it, is not this the case with every disaffected party in every state? a good reason for watchfulness, but none for extermination. The distinction between a king by possession and one by right, was heard neither for the first nor for the last time in the reign of Elizabeth. It is the lot of every government that is not founded on the popular opinion of legitimacy, to receive only a precarious allegiance. Subject to this reservation, which was pretty generally known, it does not appear that the priests, or other Roman Catholics, examined at various times during this reign, are more chargeable with insincerity or dissimulation than accused persons generally are. That which renders these condemnations of Popish priests so iniquitous is, that the belief in, or rather the refusal to disclaim, a speculative tenet, dangerous indeed, and incompatible with loyalty, but not coupled with any overt act, was construed into treason; nor can any one affect to justify these sentences who is not prepared to maintain that a refusal of the oath of abjuration, while the pretensions of the house of Stuart subsisted, might lawfully or justly have incurred the same penalty."

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By "loyalty" this writer means (as Protestants always do) submission to a temporal sovereign as such, without regard to the laws of God and His Church; but letting this pass, you will observe that on every principle of common justice Elizabeth's conduct calls for the loudest reprobation. Had she treated as traitors those only who were legally convicted of stirring up her subjects to rebellion, or openly disputing her title, leaving the Catholics free to deny her assumed spiritual supremacy, and practise their religion, her conduct might have been more leniently judged. But she passed a series of bloody laws, such as would have disgraced the legislature of any Pagan nation. She established a secret inquisition of the most terrible kind; she put suspected persons, men, women, and boys, to the torture; she ransacked the houses of the gentry at any hour in the day or the night; she hanged, disembowelled, dismembered, butchered her unoffending subjects; she made it death to leave the Protestant religion, death to harbor a priest, death to *be* a priest; she filled her jails with prisoners, and her coffers with their spoils; she shed blood like water. In short, she followed up the course she had

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begun from the days she avowed herself a Protestant; and as Catholics would not give up their faith, she resolved on their extermination. These were her "Golden Days," of which I shall speak in my next Number.

The remaining history of the bull is soon told. Elizabeth affected to laugh at the "thunders of the Vatican," at the same time that she could not conceal her uneasiness and alarm. Perhaps she secretly trembled at the voice of the old man of Rome, though she carried herself bravely before her courtiers. Any how, with all her haughty assurance, she could not sit still under the papal sentence, and begged the Emperor of Germany to procure its recall. The Pontiff rejected the application with this quiet rebuke, that if Elizabeth thought his bull had any force in it, why did she not seek to be reconciled? If not, why trouble herself about it at all? He had done his duty to the Church; let her now do her duty to her subjects. Gregory XIII., who succeeded Pope Pius, formally relieved the Catholics themselves from its operation, though he retained it still in force against Elizabeth and her adherents. After his Pontificate the bull was never renewed; and at the death of Elizabeth its application

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ceased. A new era had set in; whether for better or worse I will not here discuss. Unity of faith being gone, the powers of Europe no longer formed one Christian brotherhood, or acknowledged one common head; and as the Popes had exercised their temporal supremacy only with the consent, and indeed at the invitation, of their spiritual children, so have they never sought to resume the power, much less to disturb the relations that have since subsisted between one nation and another, or to interfere with the allegiance which, as a sacred duty, subjects owe in all temporal things to the rulers of their country.

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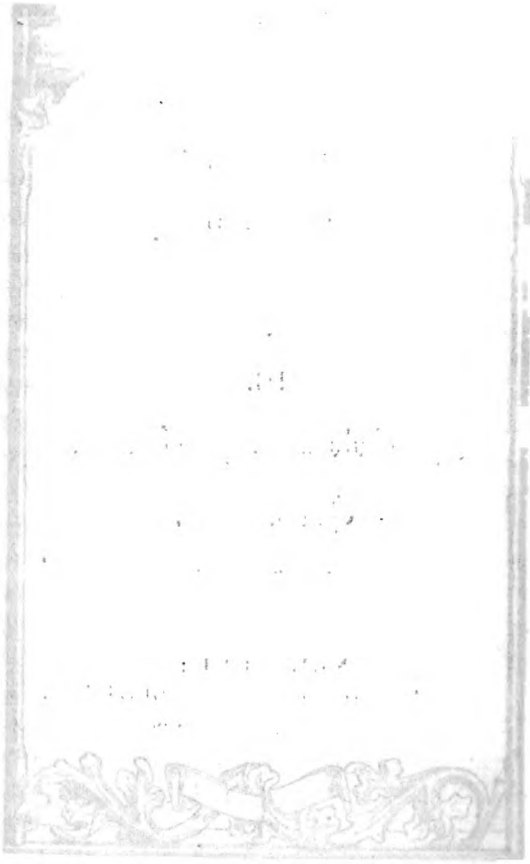
QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER PEOPLE.

III.

The Golden Days of Good Queen Bess.

NEW YORK:
EDWARD DUNIGAN AND BROTHER,
151 FULTON ST., NEAR BROADWAY.

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QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER PEOPLE.

THE GOLDEN DAYS OF GOOD QUEEN BESS.

GOLD is red, and so is blood. If Elizabeth's days are "golden" in the sight of Protestants, because they were sunny and bright with this world's glory, to the eyes of Catholics they are stained with a crimson flood of gore, because of the fierce and deadly persecution which their fathers had to endure at her hands for the sake of their holy faith.

That blood was shed, and shed in torrents, our enemies cannot deny; but nevertheless they will have it that the persecution was not a religious persecution. They wish to rob our Catholic fathers of the glory of martyrdom; and so they say that it was because they were bad subjects, traitors, and rebels, in short, that they were so rigorously treated by their Protestant queen.

Well, *when* did this ill-behavior of theirs

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begin? Not at her accession, for they readily owned her title to the throne. Not when it was made death to deny the queen to be the head of the Church, and imprisonment for life to use any but the State Prayer Book, and a weekly fine of a shilling was imposed for attending any but the State worship; not even when it was made death for any man, whether priest or layman, to refuse the oath of supremacy; for (as has been shown on the confession of Protestant historians themselves) the Catholics had done nothing to deserve such treatment. Not in the northern rebellion; for large bodies of Catholics joined the royal forces; and Cecil himself, in one of his foreign dispatches, declared "the queen's majesty hath had a notable trial of her whole realm and subjects in this time, wherein she hath had service readily of all sorts, without respect of religion." Not when the Pope issued his bull of excommunication and deposition against Elizabeth; for the Catholics did not act upon it, and therefore could not justly be regarded as parties to it. "Still," insist our Protestant assailants, "if it was not then, it was afterwards."

But *when*? I am prepared to show you that

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at no time were Catholics rebels or traitors, even in the Protestant sense of the terms. That they had every right to rebel, I have all along maintained, for the persecution raised against their religion, to say nothing of the sanction of the Pope, fully justified recourse to arms; so that, had they rebelled and suffered in consequence, I might still contend that, in a sense, they suffered for their religion, because it was the persecution of their religion which had driven them to rebel. However, the question is one of facts; and these facts I shall now proceed to put before you as concisely as I can.

The Pope's bull of deposition against Elizabeth was issued, as we have seen, at the beginning of the year 1570; and in the spring of the year following, parliament met for the third time. That strong measures should be taken to prevent the execution of the bull; or that any attempt to publish it, or other like instrument, or to procure its formal recognition by the Catholics, should be declared a capital offence, would have been matter neither of surprise nor of complaint, considered simply as a political precaution on the part of an

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heretical government. Instead of which, however, it was made high treason "to sue for, obtain, or put in use *any* bull, writing, or instrument from the Bishop of Rome, *containing any matter or thing whatsoever.*" That is to say, the Catholics of England were to be cut off from all communication, however purely spiritual in its nature, with the head of their Church. Their faith taught them that it was necessary to be in communion with the successors of St. Peter; that their bishops and clergy possessed no spiritual powers, and could exercise no spiritual jurisdiction, except as dependent on his supreme authority; nay (as Mackintosh observes), "many of the moral relations of life were, in their opinion, legitimatised solely by his intervention;" yet the only choice left for them was to forego all these inestimable benefits, or to enjoy them at the peril of their lives. Death of the soul, or of the body, was the alternative proposed.

The same law forbade, under the same penalty, the absolving and reconciling any one to the Catholic Church, or the being so reconciled, by virtue of such bulls or writings; which was, in fact, an interdiction of the sacrament of penance; making it high treason for a sinner

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to confess his sins to a priest and receive absolution, as well as for the priest to exercise this essential part of his sacred office. It was principally intended, however, to prevent such as had conformed to the Protestant religion from returning to the Catholic faith; and now mark the iniquitous tyranny of this statute. If a Catholic once conformed, however unwillingly, if but once, to save himself from being fined or otherwise punished, he attended the State service—from that moment the law regarded him as a Protestant; and if he repented of his sin and wished to return, in other words, to remain what in his conscience he had never ceased to be, the fate that awaited him was death by the hands of the common hangman, with all its attendant and unspeakable atrocities. Yes, my friends, to "turn Catholic," as it is called, was, in the days of "good Queen Bess," to die the horrible death of a traitor! But the chief offenders were not the only persons to whom the law extended its merciless provisions: all aiders and abettors, all, that is, who were in any way instrumental in bringing another back to the Catholic church, were to suffer the penalties of *præmunire*, in other words, to forfeit all their goods, and be imprisoned for

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life. Can you wonder, then, that conversions were so rare from that time forward, or that England soon became a Protestant country?

It would be very difficult, I ween, to make out that the actions thus made criminal by law had anything in them of a treasonable nature, or that to punish them was aught else than religious persecution; but the act of parliament went further still. It inflicted the penalties of *præmunire* on all who should introduce into the country—now, what do you think? perhaps the racks and tortures of the terrible Inquisition you have heard so much about; or some "infernal machine" for the sudden destruction of the queen and all her newly-created "bishops;" or a cardinal in disguise. Then at least his robes and scarlet stockings, and the other paraphernalia of his dignity and office; or one of the Pope's slippers, as a symbol of his territorial power. No, it doomed to the total loss of liberty and property all such as should either bring, or receive, a certain little devotional object in wax called an "Agnus Dei," from its having the image of the *Lamb of God* stamped upon it, or crosses, or pictures, or beads blessed by the Pope, or by others deriving authority from him. Such, also, as concealed or con-

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nived at this offence were to be held guilty of misprision of treason! So it was: one of the most heinous crimes which a British subject could commit, in the estimation of these wise Protestant ancestors of ours, was to be a party in conveying or receiving the Pope's blessing in any material form. It may be supposed they thought that the only persons who had a right to bless a native of these islands were their majesties the kings and queens of England, and that to show the Pope a preference in such a matter was an insult to the nation, and an aggression on the royal prerogative.

However, Protestantism was not even yet considered to be secure; Popery must be kept out of England, cost what it might: why, if precautions were not taken, people might go abroad, fall in love with what they saw and heard in Popish lands, and carry it back with them into their own country; in some way or other they might lend the hated religion a helping hand, and pave the way for its restoration. So a third bill was passed, ordering every body who had left, or should hereafter leave, the realm, even though it were with express license from the crown, to return in six months' time, under penalty of forfeiting his

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goods and chattels, and the profits of his lands during life, to the use of the queen. An enviable sort of liberty this! If Catholics stayed quietly at home, they must violate their consciences by professing Protestantism; and if they went abroad, they must sacrifice their fortunes to the queen's use.

Having made the Catholic religion high treason by act of Parliament, of course it would be no difficult matter for the government to prove its professors to be disaffected persons. In fact, every Catholic, as such, became a traitor. This being so, the sentence of death thus hanging over them as certainly as if they had been captured with arms in their hands, could it have been any matter of surprise had the Catholics of this country preferred being robbed of their property, thrown into jail, or even hanged, drawn, and quartered, for something a little more adventurous than the peaceful exercise of their religion? Why in the world should they not be "traitors and rebels" in good earnest? There was a chance at least of bettering their condition, and getting toleration for themselves, if nothing more. Many naturally reasoned thus; and the consequence was a conspiracy, in which a considerable number

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of Catholics were concerned, to procure, not the death of Elizabeth, nor (avowedly at least) her dethronement, but the repeal of the sanguinary penal laws, the liberation of Mary Queen of Scots, who, as you know, had been detained many years in an English prison, her recognition as next heir to the crown (which any way she was), and her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, who, though a Protestant, was believed to be well disposed towards Catholics. I told you in my last of a previous attempt of this kind, in which Norfolk was supposed to be implicated, and was accordingly sent to the Tower, October 9th, 1569. The design was now renewed, and assistance sought from foreign powers, especially from Spain. Ere it was ripe for execution the plot was discovered, and Norfolk suffered death, June 8th, 1572. In this conspiracy many Catholics, as I have said, were engaged, though it was far from being the act of the whole body; but even had it been so, this was no reason for the proscription of the entire Catholic population, or the extirpation of their religion. No doubt, the Pope also was privy to the enterprise, and gave it his encouragement and support, in conjunction with other Catholic powers; but this,

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again, was no excuse for pursuing to the death such as were not proved to have taken part therein. That there was much in the aspect of affairs, both at home and abroad, to fill Elizabeth with alarm cannot be denied; but she had brought it on herself by her unjust imprisonment of the Scottish queen, and her violent conduct towards her Catholic subjects. First she perpetrated most flagrant acts of cruelty and injustice against them, and then getting afraid of the consequences of her own evil deeds, she was driven to perpetrate still worse enormities, in order to avert the danger with which she found herself threatened; she could not stop even if she would; the more extreme Protestants, or Puritans, as they were called, who were now the dominant party in the House of Commons, would not allow her to pause in the course on which she had entered. They thirsted for blood, and began to call loudly for the death of Mary, whose only crime was that of being a Catholic and presumptive heir to the throne, if not, in the estimation of many, the present rightful sovereign. They had failed in an attempt to implicate her in an impeachment by a retrospective act of parliament, and now they sent up an address to the queen, in

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which they did not scruple to affirm, on the authority of Scripture and the civil law, that "it stood not only with justice, but with the queen's majesty's honor and safety" to send her royal prisoner to the scaffold. Nor were the Puritans the only persons who sought her life: Archbishop Parker, in a letter to Cecil, urged the "taking of her away," on the plea that by such means all good Protestants "would be in better hope," and "the Papists" be disappointed of their "expectation."

While such were the designs entertained by the Protestant party against the unhappy lady, whose wrongs naturally filled the hearts of Catholics with sorrow and indignation, the latter were themselves the objects of an implacable hatred, which all they had suffered, and all the government had done against them, failed to satisfy. The words of Hallam, whom nobody can suspect of unduly favoring Catholics, are so express on this point, that I cannot do better than quote them. "Such of the queen's advisers," he says, "as leaned towards the Puritan faction, and too many of the Anglican clergy, whether Puritan or not, thought no measure of charity or compassion should be extended to them. With the divines they were

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schismatics; with the council they were a dangerous and disaffected party; with the judges they were refractory transgressors of statutes; on every side they were obnoxious and oppressed. A few aged men having been set at liberty, Sampson, the famous Puritan, himself a sufferer for conscience sake"—for Elizabeth persecuted all who differed from the established Church, or disputed her supremacy, though, as Mackintosh observes, "the Puritans were too highly patronized, powerful, and independent, they had too many favorers in the House of Commons, and even at court, to be proscribed, tortured, and hanged, like the Roman Catholics," —Sampson, I say, "wrote a letter of remonstrance to Lord Burleigh, in which he urged that they should be *compelled to hear sermons*, though he would not *at first* oblige them to communicate. A bill having been introduced in the session of 1571, imposing a penalty for not receiving the communion [after Protestant fashion], it was objected that consciences ought not to be forced. But Mr. Strickland (one of the most liberal of the Puritan party) entirely denied this principle, and quoted authorities against it. Even Parker, by no means tainted with Puritan bigotry, and who had been reck-

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oned moderate in his proceedings towards Catholics, complained of the queen's lenity in not *rooting them out.* The indulgence shown by Elizabeth, the topic of reproach in those times, and sometimes of boast in our own, never extended to any positive toleration, nor even to any general connivance at the Romish worship in its most private exercise." Then, after alluding to the declaration of 1570, already mentioned, in which she said that she "did not intend to sift men's consciences, provided they observed her laws by coming to church;" which she well knew no real Catholic could do, he goes on to state, that in spite of this royal promise, "the government did not always abstain from an inquisition into men's private thoughts. The inns of court were more than once purified from Popery, by examining their members on articles of faith. Gentlemen of good families in the country were harassed in the same manner. One Sir Richard Shelly, who had long acted as a sort of spy for Cecil, on the continent, and given much useful information, requested only leave to enjoy his religion without hindrance [in fact, to go to mass while at Paris]; but the queen did not accede to this without much reluctance and

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delay. She had, indeed, assigned no other ostensible pretext for breaking off her own marriage with the Archduke Charles (and subsequently with the Dukes of Anjou and Alencon), than her determination not to suffer the mass to be celebrated even in her husband's private chapel. It is worthy to be repeatedly inculcated on the reader, since so false a color has been often employed to disguise the ecclesiastical tyranny of this reign, that *the most clandestine exercise of the Romish religion was severely punished.* Thus we read in the life of Whitgift, 1578, that, on information given that some ladies and others heard mass in the house of one Edwards, by night, in the county of Denbigh, he, being then bishop of Worcester and vice-president of Wales, was directed to make inquiry into the facts, and finally was instructed to commit Edwards to close prison; and as for another person implicated, named Morice, 'if he remained obstinate, he might cause *some kind of torture to be used upon him;* and the like order they prayed him to use with the others.' But this is one of many instances, the events of every day, forgotten on the morrow, and of which no general historian takes account." (*Constitutional*

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History, chap. iii. pp. 140–142, edition of 1850.)

Dr. Lingard also thus describes the condition of the Catholics at this time: "Many of the more zealous or more timid among them sought, with their families, an asylum beyond the sea. Their lands and property were immediately seized by the crown, and given, or sold at low prices, to the followers of the court (Strype gives a list of sixty-eight persons whose property was thus confiscated). Those who remained, and who could not in conscience comply with the command to attend the established service, were compelled to pass their lives in alarm and solicitude. They lay at the mercy of their neighbors and enemies; they were daily watched by the pursuivants; they were liable at any hour to be hurried before the courts of high commission, to be interrogated upon oath, how often they had been at church, and when or where they had received the sacrament; to be condemned, as recusants, to fines and imprisonment, or, as persons reconciled, to forfeiture and confinement for life. Their terrors were renewed every year by proclamations, or secret messages, calling upon the magistrates, the bishops, and the ecclesiastical

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commissioners, to redouble their vigilance, and enforce the laws respecting religion. Private houses were searched to discover priests or persons assisting at mass. The foreign ambassadors complained of the violation of their privileges by the intrusion of the pursuivants into their chapels" (to see if any British subjects were present at the forbidden worship); "and even Elizabeth herself, to give the example, occasionally condescended to commit to prison the recusants who were denounced to her in the course of her progresses." One instance of this is so extraordinary, presenting as it does (to use Mr. Hallam's words) "an almost incredible specimen of ungracious behavior" towards a Catholic gentleman, that it deserves a special notice.

In her "progresses," or journeys through the country, Elizabeth was in the habit of taking up her lodgings at the mansions of the nobility and gentry, with their will or without their will. While thus quartering herself upon them, she treated their houses and grounds, and indeed every thing they had, as if they were her own; "havocking" their lands, and slaughtering their deer, and otherwise disporting herself at pleasure, so that a royal visit was a some-

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what expensive compliment. In the month of August, 1578, "her majesty," says Miss Strickland, "was pleased to pay one of her self-invited visits to Euston Hall, in Suffolk, belonging to a young gentleman of the ancient house of Rookwood, who had just come of age. Here she abode with her suite a whole fortnight; and though much abuse is levelled at the youthful owner, it seems his religion was his only crime. 'By some device,' said Topcliffe—a red-hot Protestant, in a letter which he indited on the occasion—'this Papist, newly crept out of his wardship, was brought into her majesty's presence, and her excellent majesty gave him ordinary (usual) thanks for his bad house, and her fair hand to kiss. But my lord chamberlain (Lord Sussex), nobly and gravely understanding that Rookwood was excommunicated for Papistry, called him before him, demanded of him how he durst presume to attempt her royal presence, he unfit to accompany any Christian person; forthwith said he was fitter for a pair of stocks, commanded him out of the court, and yet to attend her council's pleasure.' This was a strange return for a fortnight's hospitality" (continues Miss S.), "for if the queen and her courtiers had not liked

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their entertainment, why did they stay so long? But, alas for poor Rookwood! his guests were not contented with this curious specimen of their courtly manners. Their next proceeding was to raise an outcry that some of their property had been stolen, as a pretence for ransacking his house and premises." Among other things, the letter gives an account how, by the queen's command, they burned an image of our Lady, after performing "a sort of country dances" round it "in her majesty's sight." But the guests of Euston Hall had not yet done with their young host; for the writer relates with great glee, what he calls a piece of "good news," and "in account the highest," how "her majesty hath *served God with great zeal and comfortable examples;* for by her council two notorious Papists, young Rookwood and one Downes, a gentleman, were both committed, the one to the town prison at Norwich, the other to the county prison there, for obstinate Papistry; and seven more gentlemen of worship (whose names he gives) were committed to several houses in Norwich for badness of belief." "Such," adds Miss Strickland, "were our [Protestant] forefathers' ideas of serving God, "with great zeal and comfortable ex-

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amples;' the strangest part of the letter is, that a man could write down a narrative of such conduct, without perceiving the hideousness of the polemic spirit that inspired his exultation at the incarceration of an unoffending young gentleman among felons in a common jail, for no greater crime than quiet adherence to the faith in which he had been educated." And what dens of filth were jails at this time! It was only the preceding year that, when sentence was being passed on one Jenks, a Catholic bookseller in Oxford, the noxious vapors which clave to the prisoners suddenly struck the two judges, the sheriff and under sheriff, four magistrates, most of the jury, and many of the spectators with a pestilence, which left them dead men in the course of thirty hours. This Jenks, I may mention by the way, had been apprehended for speaking against the new religion; his goods were seized, and himself kept in irons two months, at the end of which time he was condemned to have his ears nailed to the pillory, and *to deliver himself by cutting them off with his own hand.* On another occasion, not fewer than twenty Catholics of family and fortune, imprisoned for their religion, perished of an infectious disease in the

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castle of York; and a similar fate befell the Catholics confined in Newgate three years later. "This Topcliffe," observes Hallam, "was the most implacable persecutor of his age, a man whose daily occupation it was to hunt out and molest men for Popery. In a letter to Lord Burleigh (Cecil) he urges him to imprison all the principal recusants, and especially women, 'the further off from their own family and friends the better.' Instances of the ill treatment experienced by respectable families, and *even aged ladies*, without any other provocation than their recusancy, may be found. Those furthest removed from Puritanism partook some times of the same tyrannous spirit. Aylmer, bishop of London, renowned for his persecution of nonconformists, is said to have sent a *young Catholic lady* to be whipped in Bridewell for refusing to conform." Such are among the records of the "golden days" of this famous queen.

Up to the year 1573, though it would not be true to say that Catholics had not *died* for their religion in this reign (for many lost their lives through the rigorous confinement and other hardships which they had to endure), yet no one had been actually *put to death*. In the

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June of that year, however, Thomas Woodhouse, a priest, was executed at Tyburn, for daring to exercise his sacred ministry in defiance of the law. He was followed, in 1577, by Cuthbert Mayne, a priest of Cornwall, and one of those heroic missionaries who, with the spirit which animated the first preachers of the gospel, had devoted themselves to the propagation, or at least the preservation, of the faith in this hostile land.

I alluded in my last to certain seminaries which had been established abroad for the education of English priests. The universities (founded, remember, by Catholics) were no longer open to Catholic students; the clergy of the old religion were fast dying off, and it had been made illegal to ordain others to succeed them; besides which, none but Protestant schools were allowed by law. Elizabeth and her government flattered themselves that, with the effectual means they had taken, Popery must even die a natural death: the Catholic priesthood, and with it, of course, the Catholic religion, would become extinct in the island. Little did they know the indomitable spirit of the men with whom they had to do, nor the marvellous power of divine grace. In the sight

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of men all was indeed lost; but the providence of God did not fail His faithful people; He put it into the heart of William Allen, formerly principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and afterwards a cardinal of the Roman church, to found a college at Douay, in Flanders, where English youths might study theology, receive holy orders, and return to their native land to minister at the altar. This was in 1568; and in the course of five years, as many as a hundred missionaries were sent to England. The holy courage of these men, no less than their successes among the people, embarrassed and incensed the Protestant government; and like Herod of old, who thought to strike terror into the hearts of the first Christians, by slaying one of their chief Apostles (Acts xx. 1, 2), these persecutors of the faith "stretched forth their hands to afflict some of the Church;" and Cuthbert Mayne was the first to fall a victim to their fury. He was accused of obtaining a bull from Rome, of denying the queen's supremacy, and saying Mass at the house of one Mr. Tregian, a gentleman of fortune, whose chaplain he was. The bull he was charged with introducing was, in reality, nothing but a printed copy of the *Jubilee*, published the pre-

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ceding year, which he had purchased at a shop, a paper, any how, of a purely religious character; but even of this, as of the other pretended crimes for which he was tried, no legal or satisfactory evidence could be adduced. The court, however, informed the jury—mark this, ye who boast of Protestant justice—that "when plain proofs were wanting, strong presumptions were sufficient;" and he was condemned accordingly. He was hanged at Launceston, "without any charge against him," says Hallam, "except his religion:" "his offence," observes also Sir James Macintosh, or his continuator, "was religious, not political." With this good priest were condemned in the penalties of *præmunire* fifteen persons, neighbors and servants of Mr. Tregian, as aiders and abettors of what was called high treason!

Mr. Tregian himself received the same judgment, by which he was doomed to perpetual imprisonment, and his estates confiscated to the crown. For eight and twenty years he remained a prisoner in the common jail at Launceston, or in the Fleet in London; no solicitation could move the Queen to mercy, though he had enjoyed her favor in time past; but after her death, he obtained his liberty from

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James I., at the request of the King of Spain, though only on the condition that the old man should quit the country for ever. His children made several attempts to recover their father's property from Charles I., but without success. A full account of the martyrdom of Cuthbert Mayne, and of the affecting sufferings of Mr. Tregian, is given in Challoner's *Missionary Priests*;* a work which I earnestly recommend to your attention, and that of all good Protestants.

English Protestantism had now tasted blood; and, as is the case with all beasts of prey, the taste made it thirst for more. By the injunctions published at the beginning of the reign, two informers had been appointed in every parish, to note and denounce all who absented themselves from the State service; their names were now regularly entered in a list of recusants; the magistrates were ordered to bestir themselves, and warned that a watchful eye was kept on their proceedings. Private houses were searched for recusants, with every circumstance of violence and insult; the jails were

* A cheap edition is published by Richardson. A few selected lives, or rather deaths, of these holy men will be given in this series.

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crowded with Catholic prisoners. In 1578, Nelson, another seminary priest, and Sherwood, a youth but fourteen years of age, were driven by torture and cunning questions put to them by their judges, to assert that the Queen was not head of the Church, but a schismatic and a heretic. The latter was cruelly racked to make him discover where he had heard Mass, and then thrust into a dark, filthy hole, with the hope that the horrors of the place would break his youthful constancy. Both were executed in the most barbarous manner which the law directed, being hanged, cut down alive, ripped up, and dismembered, or, as it is generally called, "hanged, drawn, and quartered." All the sickening details of this horrible process (which were observed in every particular instance), will be found in the work to which I have referred, and which every one who has red Fox's *Book of Martyrs,* nay, I will say every Englishman who wishes honestly to know what Catholics have had to suffer for their religion in this country, is bound, at least once in his life, diligently to peruse. Thousands of educated men, I am convinced, are not even aware that such enormities were committed.

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No fear of death or of the torments that awaited them could daunt these valiant soldiers of the cross. The same fire of divine love which urged the Apostles to the spiritual conquest of the world, and brought the first preachers of the Gospel to these islands, still burned in the breast of Peter's successor, and animated the priests of the Church with a holy emulation for the recovery of England to the faith. In the year 1579, Pope Gregory XIII. opened a seminary at Rome for the English exiles; and at the earnest entreaty of Allen, the noble order of the Jesuits, always foremost where death was to be confronted, contributed a gallant band of missionaries, to share with their secular brethren the dangers and the glory of the enterprise. The first to land upon these shores (June 1580) were Robert Persons and Edward Campian, two Englishmen of distinguished ability and merit, the latter of whom, a convert to Catholicism, had made himself remarkable for his learning and talents, while a student at Oxford, where he had received Protestant orders. Their arrival did not escape the watchful eye of the government; and, under the pretence that they were political emissaries employed by the Pope and foreign

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powers to excite the Catholics to revolt, peremptory orders were given to the officers of justice to hunt out and apprehend them. At the same time, a royal proclamation was issued, commanding every one whose children, relations, or wards had been sent abroad for education, to give in their names forthwith, and to recall them within four months; warning also all persons whatsoever, that if they knew or heard of *any* Jesuit or seminary priest in the kingdom, and either presumed to harbor him or did not reveal the place of his concealment, they should be prosecuted and punished as abettors of treason. Thus, not only the parties in question, but every Jesuit and seminary priest who had come into England, was, without one tittle of evidence, declared as such to be a traitor in disguise. An occasion was thus found for increased severities against the Catholics. Parliament met again January 26th, 1581; and the ministers of the Crown called upon the two Houses to enact, without delay, another set of penal laws. The call was readily obeyed; a law was passed, which, after repeating the provisions of the former act, making it high treason to reconcile any of her majesty's subjects, or to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, ex-

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tended the same penalties (instead of those of *præmunire*, as heretofore) to all who should procure or abet such reconciliation. At the same time, the punishment for saying Mass was increased to the payment of 200 marks,* and one year's imprisonment; for hearing Mass, 100 marks, and the same term of imprisonment. The fine for absence from the Protestant service was fixed at £20 a month; and if that absence continued for a year, the "recusant," as he was called, was to find two securities for his future good conduct, in £200 each. Such as could not pay the fine within three months after judgment, were to be imprisoned until they conformed, that is, turned Protestant; but by a subsequent act (1587), the queen had the power of seizing two-thirds of the offender's lands, and all his personal property, in default of payment every six months. It is well to repeat all the details of these odious laws, that you may really see that the persecution was thoroughly in earnest, and one not easy to be evaded. But further, to prevent priests being concealed in private families as tutors or schoolmasters, every person acting in such capacity

* A mark was 13*s.* 4*d.*, or two-thirds of a pound.

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without license from the Protestant "bishop," was liable to be fined £10 a month, disabled from teaching school, and imprisoned for a year, while his employer was to pay a similar fine of £10 a month.

The falsehood of the accusation brought against the Catholic missionaries of being preachers of sedition, I partly exposed in my last. These brave men, of whom the world was not worthy, came simply to seek and to save the souls for which Christ died. That they regarded Elizabeth as their rightful sovereign, or that they would not have rejoiced to see her government overturned for religion's sake, it would be absurd to pretend; but the cause for which they gladly risked their liberty and their lives was the same for which the Apostles rejoiced that they were accounted worthy to suffer, and for which in the end they severally shed their blood. On their arrival, and before separating on their respective missions, the two Jesuit priests, Campian and Persons, had drawn up a paper in answer to the queen's proclamation, in which they stated the reasons which had led them to return to England. Each entrusted his own statement to the care of a friend, with an injunction not to

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make it public, unless the writer were apprehended and thrown into prison.* One of these friends betrayed his trust, and published the paper of Campian, under the title of a "Letter to the Lords of the Council." In it the missionary asserted that he was come solely to exercise the spiritual functions of the priesthood, and had been strictly forbidden by his superiors to meddle with worldly concerns or affairs of state; requested permission to dispute on religion before the queen, the council, and the two universities; and declared that all the Jesuits in the world had made a holy league to brave every danger, suffer every kind of torment, and shed their blood, if it were necessary, for the restoration and propagation of the Catholic faith.

For nearly a year, Campian eluded his pursuers; but during that time the Catholics had been exposed to severities of which they had previously no conception. No man could enjoy security even in the privacy of his own house, where he was liable at all hours, but generally in the night, to be visited by a magis-

* The account given above is taken almost *verbatim* from Dr. Lingard's History, to which the writer is also indebted for much that follows.

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trate at the head of an armed mob. At a signal given, the doors were burst open; and these Protestant inquisitors rushed into the different apartments, examined the beds, tore the tapestry and wainscoting from the walls, forced open the closets, drawers, coffers, in short ransacked the house, and did whatever mischief they pleased, with the hope of discovering, or under the pretence of searching for, a priest, or books, chalices, and vestments, used in Catholic worship. "Sometimes also" (says a manuscript of the time) "they placed watchmen in the chambers of the house both to take care that no Catholic should stir to relieve the priest—though commonly they made them sure for that, by locking them all up together in one part of the house—and besides that they might hearken if any little stirring be behind a wall, yea to to the breathing or coughing of a priest." To resist or to remonstrate was only to provoke worse usage. All the inmates were interrogated, and their persons searched, under the pretext that superstitious articles might be concealed among their clothes; and there are instances on record of females of rank whose reason and lives were endangered from the brutality of the officers. By such means Lady

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Neville was frightened to death in Holborn, and Mrs. Vavaseur lost her reason at York. At length Campian was taken at Lyfford in Berkshire, and conveyed with his arms bound and his legs tied under the horse on which he was mounted, in triumphal procession to the Tower. His companion Persons continued for some months to brave the danger which menaced him; but at length, at the urgent request of his friends, both for their security and for his own, he retired beyond the sea.

Let us follow Campian to the end. The use of the torture was common to most of the European nations: in England, during the reign of Elizabeth, it was employed with the most wanton barbarity. A Catholic prisoner was hardly lodged in the Tower before he was placed on the rack; and if he were supposed to be a priest, was interrogated why he had come to England, where he had resided, whom he had reconciled, what he had learned from the confession of others, and in what places his colleagues were concealed. The following were the instruments of torture chiefly employed in the Tower:

1. The *rack*, a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was

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laid under it, on his back, on the floor; his wrists and ankles were attached by cords to two rollers at the ends of the frame; these were moved by levers in opposite directions till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put; and if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more, till the bones started from their sockets.

2. The *scavenger's daughter*, a broad hoop of iron so called, consisting of two parts fastened to each other by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement, and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner, kneeling on his shoulders, and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together, till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was an hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened that from excess of compression, the blood started from the nostrils; sometimes, it was believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet.

3. *Iron gauntlets,* which could be contracted by the aid of a screw. They served to com-

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press the wrists, and to suspend the prisoner in the air from two distant points of a beam. He was placed on three pieces of wood, piled one on the other, which, when his hands had been made fast, were successively withdrawn from under his feet. "I felt," says F. Gerard, one of the sufferers, "the chief pain in my breast, belly, arms, and hands. I thought that all the blood in my body had run into my arms, and begun to burst out at my fingers' ends. This was a mistake; but the arms swelled till the gauntlets were buried within the flesh. After being suspended an hour I fainted; and when I came to myself, I found the executioners supporting me in their arms; they replaced the pieces of wood under my feet; but as soon as I recovered, removed them again. Thus *I continued hanging for the space of five hours, during which I fainted eight or nine times.*" (Merry times—golden days these for Catholics!)

4. The *little-ease*, a cell of so small dimensions, and so constructed, that the prisoner could neither stand, sit, nor lie in it at full length. He was compelled to draw himself up in a squatting posture, and so remain several days.

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5. The *needles,* which were thrust under the nails of the accused.

6. The *dungeon of rats,* a cell below high-water mark, and totally dark. As the tide flowed, innumerable rats, infesting the muddy banks of the Thames, were driven through the orifices of the walls into the dungeon, and in their ferocious hunger tore the flesh from the arms and legs of the prisoner.

7. The *tying of the thumbs* together, and suspending the accused by them to a beam.

These instruments were in constant use: "The rack," says Hallam, "seldom stood idle in the Tower for all the latter part of Elizabeth's reign;" and Jardine, in his work on *The Use of Torture* (from which the preceding account is taken, observes, that "in the long catalogue of cases which occurred in the reign of a sovereign whom Protestants delight to honor, the most prominent for refinement of cruelty arose from Protestant persecution." A few lines from a Diary of the time will bring the matter home to you. Dec. 10th, 1580: Thomas Cottam and Luke Kirby, priests, suffered compression in the scavenger's daughter for more than an hour; Cottam bled profusely from the nose. Dec. 15th, Ralph Sherwine and

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Robert Johnson, priests, were severely tortured on the rack. Dec. 16th, The former was tortured a second time on the rack. Dec. 31st, John Hart, after being chained five days to the floor, was led to the rack; also Henry Orton, a lay gentleman. 1581, Jan. 3d, Christopher Thomson, an aged priest, was brought to the Tower, and racked the same day. Jan. 14th, Nicholas Roscaroe, a lay gentleman, was racked, and remained in prison till June 21, 1585, when he was discharged. Such is the record of *a few days only*, accidentally preserved.

Campian was stretched on the rack four different times; he was kept on that bed of torture till it was thought he had expired; yet nothing could be extracted from him which argued any treasonable intentions, or any guilty cognizance of such. Under an assurance, however, solemnly given him on oath by the commissioners whose office it was to question him while on the rack, that no harm should come to any whom he might mention, he disclosed the names of several gentlemen who had received him into their houses. *That oath was violated.* Every gentleman named was summoned before the council, and some of them were imprisoned and severely fined as "har-

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borers" of priests. Between the torturings, Campian was several times called to dispute on religion with Protestant divines; conversions to the Catholic faith followed; and on one occasion two of the audience were committed to prison on being overheard to say that Campian "was discreet and learned, and disputed very well." A nice specimen this of the right of private judgment and freedom of opinion! Elizabeth had him brought into her presence, and endeavoured to entangle him in his talk; in other words, to get him to commit himself. At length Campian, twelve other priests, and one layman, collected from different prisons, were arraigned in two separate bodies. They had come prepared openly to profess their faith, like good Catholics; to their astonishment they found themselves indicted for a conspiracy to murder the queen, to overthrow the Church and State, and to withdraw the people from their allegiance. Every particular of time and place was specified; the plot was said to have been arranged at Rome and Rheims the preceding year. Well indeed might the prisoners be surprised. Several among them had not been out of England for many years; several had never visited Rheims or Rome in their life;

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some had not even seen each other before they met at the bar. They protested that, whatever might be pretended, their religion was their only offence; and, in proof of the assertion, declared that *liberty had been previously offered to each individual among them, provided he would conform to the established Church.* Their statement was not contradicted.

But the sentence had already passed; the trial was only a mockery of justice. Not an atom of evidence was adduced to connect either Campian or his companions with any attempt against the life or the safety of the queen. But the public mind had been prepared to believe in the existence of a conspiracy—as at the present day people swallow down any lying and self-contradictory charge against a Catholic, be he priest or layman, or one of those holy religious whose sex alone ought to be a sufficient protection against injury or slander—and the jury returned a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners. One only escaped judgment, in consequence of a Protestant barrister rising in court, *after the verdict was given*, and declaring on oath that this convicted traitor had consulted him in his chambers in London on the very day that he was charged with having conspired

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at Rheims. The man was remanded; but the others, in spite of this damning fact, were adjudged to suffer the death of traitors. An attempt was made to save their lives, out of compliment to the Duke of Anjou, who was then in London with the hope of engaging Elizabeth in a matrimonial alliance; but Cecil contended that their deaths were necessary in order to pacify the Protestants, who were in an agony of fear at the prospect of the queen's marrying a Catholic. This counsel prevailed; Campian and two others were selected for immediate execution; and suffered (Dec. 1, 1581) the frightful punishment of traitors, asserting their innocence, and praying for Elizabeth with their last breath. The other nine, who were permitted to remain several months under sentence of death, were examined over and over again, and required to declare their opinions respecting the Pope's deposing power, and what part they would take in case of an attempt to put the bull into execution. Two priests and a layman gave answers which satisfied their interrogators; they saved their lives, but did not recover their liberty. The other seven replied that their opinions had nothing to do with the crime for which they had been unjustly

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condemned; that they were incompetent to determine the controversy between the Pope and the Queen; that they believed as the Catholic Church believed, and would on all occasions behave as Catholic priests ought to behave. These answers were deemed evasive; and they all suffered at Tyburn, protesting, as their companions had already done, that they were innocent of treason, and dutiful subjects of their sovereign.

That the conspiracy was a fiction from beginning to end cannot be doubted. Their chief accuser was a Protestant, who went abroad and pretended to become a Catholic, in order to get admission into the seminaries. He was ejected for misconduct, and returned to England. Immediately on landing he was arrested, and again avowed himself a Protestant. He was now every where spoken of as a convert from Popery; and the Protestant bishops were compelled to subscribe £50 a year for his maintenance, till he could be provided for in the "Church." He published what he called *Disclosures*, and a book full of calumnies against the Pope and the Seminary priests. Yet, after all, the government were afraid to produce him at the trial; and soon after he retracted his

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charges against the Catholic missionaries, and vindicated their innocence. In excuse for his falsehood, he said he had been seized with terror when he was led to the foot of the rack, and beheld the instruments of torture. Even his pretended "confession," as it was called, was garbled and interpolated by others, and names inserted which he had never heard. "Elizabeth herself was well known," says Camden, the Protestant annalist, "not to have believed the greater part of these unfortunate priests guilty of any designs against her or their country." "The only evidence," says Hallam, "so far as we know, or have reason to suspect, that could be brought against them, was their own admission, at least by refusing to abjure it, of the Pope's power to depose heretical princes. I suppose," he adds, "it is unnecessary to prove that, without some covert act to show a design of *acting* upon this principle, it could not fall within the statute." No conviction for high treason could, in law or justice, be sustained against them. Hence, though he cannot altogether conquer his prejudices against Campian's "profession as a Jesuit,"—a fact which renders his judgment only the more valuable—he concludes, "Noth-

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ing that I have read affords the slightest proof of his concern in treasonable practices." So also Sir James Mackintosh, though, as a Protestant, he considers that "they inculcated obnoxious and dangerous tenets in religion," yet declares that "there was no evidence of their having conspired, or instigated conspiracy, to destroy or depose the queen. Some of them denied, and others equivocated, respecting the legitimacy of the queen's title, as affected by the Pope's bull; but it was assuredly as illegal as it was inhuman to hang men, even Jesuits as they were"—(here he also betrays his ignorant rancor against this noble order)—"upon mere tenets extorted from their secret consciences by the rack." Nor was this an extraordinary case: as was asserted in my last, and as these very historians allow, of all the Catholic priests who were executed under the pretence of being traitors to the state, not a single one was convicted of preaching seditious doctrines, or holding treasonable correspondence; nay, not a single one was ever proved to have, by word or writing, enforced, defended, or even so much as mentioned, the bull of deposition against Elizabeth.

But this system of "inquisition into men's

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private thoughts," as Hallam calls it, had been going on a long time. We have already heard of the High Commission Court,* which was set up by Elizabeth in her capacity of supreme governor of the Church, and armed with a power superior to all law, for the extinction, in fact, by every means and any means, of every form of religion but that which was established by Act of Parliament. The authority of this Court had been increasing in force every year; but in 1583 (the date at which we have now arrived) it seems almost to have reached its height. It consisted of forty-four Commissioners, twelve of whom were Protestant bishops, and certain others clergymen, who were empowered to reform all heresies, schisms, errors, vices, sins, misbehaviors—in short, all acts and opinions obnoxious to the ruling powers—by fine and imprisonment at their discretion; and at its head was the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury. The general mode of proceeding was by putting the accused person on his oath, and forcing him, by a series of artfully-devised questions to criminate himself. But this was not the only mode of examination.

* No. 45. "How Elizabeth restored the Protestant Religion," p. 30.

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"The inquiry was conducted," says Maclain, a Protestant writer, "not only by legal methods, but by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment; and the fines and imprisonment to which it condemned persons were limited by no rule but its own pleasure." We have seen how they proceeded in the case of Campian and his associates; and this was their ordinary method of transacting business. In fact, this infamous court was just nothing else than an Inquisition—by which I mean, an Inquisition such as Protestants have imagined and painted it. The Inquisition in England? Yes, my friends, in your own reformed, Protestant England, the land of light and liberty; and I will tell you a truth which I leave you to meditate upon at your leisure: the Reformation could never have been successful, the Protestant Church could never have been established, in this country without it. I am not resting on the authority of Catholic writers; I am but repeating the words of the best Protestant historians, the men who, I said at the beginning, are comparatively but little known to the mass of the people, for they are never quoted in Protestant tracts, and but rarely in (so-called) liberal speeches. Sir James Mackintosh, or his continuator, thus

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writes: "The queen, to restore unity in the Church, appointed as (Archbishop) Grindall's successor Whitgift, a stern inquisitor, irritated by previous controversy, and placed in his hands a commission comparable only to that celebrated tribunal which, in England, has been regarded as the most odious in the world." Mr. Hallam, also, while he sees the "germ" of this court in a commission granted by Mary, towards the close of her reign, says, "but the primary model was the Inquisition itself;" and then he quotes with approval the words of a letter to Whitgift, from Cecil (for even he was disgusted with the intolerance of the "archbishop"), in which he said, that "he thought the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to trap their prey." Even Hume declares "it was a real Inquisition, attended with all the iniquities as well as cruelties inseparable from that tribunal. The commissioners proceeded not by information, but by rumor, suspicion, or according to their own fancy. In short, an inquisitorial tribunal, with all its terrors and iniquities, was erected in the kingdom."

This Protestant Inquisition was now in full action, and the penal laws were not allowed to sleep in the statute-book. They were "not

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designed," to quote Hallam once more, "merely for terror's sake, to keep a check over the disaffected, as some would pretend; they were executed in the most sweeping and indiscriminate manner, unless perhaps a few families of high rank might enjoy a connivance." True it is, that Elizabeth on one occasion proclaimed that torture should be discontinued; but this, says Mackintosh, "was to render her ministers more odious by the contrast of her own clemency; and after the false glory thus gained by her, she shut her eyes to the resumed or continued use of the horrid engine with renewed activity by her ministers. About the same time she ordered seventy priests, either under sentence of death or awaiting it, to be released from prison, the rack, and the scaffold—a fact which itself is proof sufficient of the extent and fury of the persecution. If seventy were released for the sake of a little false popularity, what had not multitudes endured of whose sufferings we shall know nothing till the last judgment?

In 1584 Parliament again assembled; and though within the last three years scarcely a month had been allowed to pass in which the scaffolds did not stream the with blood of Catholic

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victims, and in several counties the prisons were filled with recusants of ancient and noble family, their enemies were not satisfied. Conscious of the miseries she had inflicted on her Catholic subjects, Elizabeth was never free from alarm, lest, like the Protestants of Scotland, France, and Flanders, whom she had assisted in rebelling against their sovereigns, the Catholics of England should take part with some invading power against herself. Accordingly she had recourse to the most disgraceful precautions to guard against surprise. "Secret emissaries," says Camden, "were spread every where abroad, to collect rumors and catch unguarded words." Many frequented foreign courts; others got admission into the English seminaries on the continent in the guise of Catholic students. Others, again, lurked about the houses of the principal gentry at home; they pretended to be confidential friends of the Queen of Scots; and Camden says they brought "counterfeit letters" with them, as from Mary, in the hope of entrapping persons into some act or expression which might be used against them. Criminals and outlaws were promised not only pardon but reward for betraying Catholics; so that, adds the same

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writer, "innocence, even when guarded by prudence, was scarcely a security to Papists." Mackintosh also declares that it was "impossible for Catholics to live in safety. False denunciations and forged letters subjected the most conspicuous to examination before the privy council, deprivation of rights, or committal to the Tower."

This odious system of espionage and terror produced its natural fruits. Plots, real or pretended, were brought to light, and kept the nation in a state of constant ferment. 1. One Somerville, half a lunatic, rushes out into the road with a drawn sword, and swears he'll murder every Protestant in the land, and the queen herself. He is seized and lodged in the Tower; his father and mother-in-law, his wife and sister, and a missionary priest, are immediately apprehended. Arden his father-in-law, and Hall the priest, are put to the torture; the former persists in maintaining his innocence, but the latter is made to confess that he had heard his friend say he wished the queen were in heaven. On this the whole party are convicted of conspiring the queen's death, and Arden suffers as a traitor. 2. Francis, a son of Sir John Throckmorton, is

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suspected of treasonable correspondence: three times is he racked with no other result than a solemn protestation of his innocence. A fourth time he is led to the torture, and at the sight of the horrible instrument he loses his courage, and confesses himself privy to a plan for levying troops against the queen, and "removing her from her crown and state," unless she would consent to tolerate the Catholic worship. At his trial he declares that his confession was false; nevertheless he is condemned to death; and again, with the hope of escaping execution, he repeats his former confession—but in vain: he is led out to die, and then once more he revokes his confession, calling God to witness that it had been extorted from him by the fear of torture and the wish to save his life. 3. Parry, a Protestant, had long been employed by Cecil as a spy upon the Catholics. He pretends to become a convert to the faith, and endeavors to entrap several Jesuits and other priests into sanctioning the assassination of Elizabeth. Foiled in these attempts, he solicits an audience of the queen, and pretends that he had been employed by the Pope to murder her; in proof of which statement he shows her a letter from one of the cardinals, as

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if approving of his design; but the letter fails to support his assertion, and he is again left to his devices. At last he is caught in his own snares. He tries to inveigle one Neville, a Catholic exile (himself also a secret spy in the pay of the government), into consenting to a plot against the queen's life. It seems to have been a trial of skill between two practised rogues, which should get the other into his toils. Neville is the winner, and he denounces Parry, who is sent to the tower. There he enters into a long and involved confession, in which he repeats his story about the Pope and the cardinal, in the hope, not only of saving his life, but of obtaining the reward he had long been seeking, which was nothing less than a pension for life for revealing so grand a conspiracy. This time the wretched impostor had outwitted himself: his confession is believed, and the judge prepares to pass sentence. At that moment, overcome with terror, the unhappy man exclaims that he is innocent; that his confession was a tissue of falsehoods extorted from him by threats and promises; that he had never harbored a thought of the murder, and that the cardinal had never given the slightest approbation to any such design.

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But it is too late: he is condemned to death while protesting that, if he perished, his blood would lie heavy on the head of his sovereign, who had employed him in the dangerous trade of inveigling others to destruction. On the scaffold he again declares his innocence, and again earnestly denies that the cardinal's letter had any thing in it of treasonable matter.

That designs against the government were in constant agitation, and that they were encouraged by the Pope and other Catholic powers, there is no doubt; and (as I have said all along) considering the course of cruel oppression which the queen and her ministers had chosen to pursue, I do not see what other result could *justly* have been expected. There may have been plots against the queen's life, but these were the machinations of a few desperate men, not of the Catholic body as such; and certainly they received no countenance from the Pope or the authorities of the Church. Not a tittle of evidence was ever adduced to the contrary; and yet on the strength of the facts which I have just related, or rather under the influence of a vague and blinding panic which overspread the nation, the new parliament pro-

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ceeded to enact a fresh set of penal laws against the Catholics, by which it was determined: 1. That all Jesuits, seminary priests, and others, born in the queen's dominions and ordained by authority from the see of Rome, if found within the realm after the expiration of forty days, should be adjudged guilty of high treason. 2. That all persons harboring or aiding such priests should be liable to the punishment of felons. 3. That any person knowing such to be in the kingdom, and not discovering them to the proper officers within twelve days, should suffer fine and imprisonment at the queen's pleasure. 4. That all lay students in the Catholic seminaries who did not return and take the oath of supremacy (that is, turn Protestants), within six months after proclamation, should be condemned, and when taken, executed as traitors. 5. That persons supplying such students with money or maintenance should incur a *præmunire*. 6. That parents sending their children abroad without license should forfeit for every such offence one hundred pounds; and that children so sent to seminaries should be disabled from inheriting the property of their parents. Lastly, that all persons who even submitted to this act and

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took the required oath, should nevertheless lose the benefit of their submission, if for the space of the next ten years they presumed to come within ten miles of the place where the court was held, without special license from the queen in writing.

Before these laws received the royal assent, a large body of Catholics endeavored to propitiate the queen by an earnest supplication. In the first place they expressed their unqualified abhorrence of the late conspiracies and treasons (for such by conviction of the accused the law held them to be). They then declared, that they held Elizabeth to be their sovereign, not only *in fact*, but *by right;* 2. That they held it to be sinful for any one to lift up his hand against her as God's anointed; 3. That they denied it to be in the power of a priest or Pope to give license to any man to do, or attempt to do, that which was sinful; 4. That they denounced the contrary opinion as devilish and abominable, heretical, and opposed to the Catholic faith. They concluded by praying they might not be suspected of disloyalty merely because they abstained, through motives of conscience, from joining in the established worship; and that her majesty would have a

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merciful regard to their afflictions, and refuse her assent to any law which banished their clergy from the land. You will observe that one proposition there was in this petition from which many Catholics would have dissented, viz. that Elizabeth was their sovereign *by right*, as well as *in fact;* for (as has been said above) since the issuing of the papal bull many could not in conscience hold Elizabeth to be their rightful queen, though they were ready to obey her as their sovereign in all things not contrary to the law of God. But this recognition of her right on the part of the petitioners, which ought to have conciliated her favor, did not prevent her, not only from giving a peremptory refusal to their prayer, but from committing to jail Sir Richard Shelley, who had the presumption to present it, although his "loyalty" was notorious; for (as has been already said) he had long acted as a sort of spy for Cecil on the continent. For refusing to denounce as a traitor every Catholic who upheld the Pope's deposing power, he was left to linger out his days in prison, where he died.

In the year following the act of 1584, eighteen Catholics suffered death for their religion, of which thirteen were priests, four

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laymen, and one a lady of good family, named Margaret Clitheroe. Her crime was that of relieving and harboring priests; her death was one too horrible to contemplate. Refusing to be a party to her own murder, or that of the priests who were arraigned with her, by pleading to the indictment, she was barbarously pressed to death. Before she was laid on the floor, she and four women who were with her begged on their knees that, for the honor of womanhood, she might die in her clothes; but the sheriff refused. And so she was taken and stripped naked; and then two of his men parted her hands, which she had joined together over her face, and bound them to two posts on the ground, and her feet in like manner. A sharp stone was put under her back, and a door loaded with heavy weights was laid upon her, the pressure of which broke her ribs and forced them through the skin. In this torment she expired, being about a quarter of an hour in dying. Her husband was banished the realm; her little children, who wept and lamented for their mother, were taken and questioned about their faith, and because they answered as she had taught them, they were severely whipped; while the eldest, who was

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but twelve years old, was cast into prison! This instance alone is sufficient to refute the assertion which has been made, that no *woman* was put to death under the penal code; but Mrs. Clitheroe was not the only female victim.

There was a Mrs. Ward, who, for assisting a priest to escape from prison (the crime of that priest being that of saying Mass), was thrown into jail, hung up by the hands, and cruelly scourged, and finally hanged, ripped up, and quartered, on the 30th of August, 1588. At her trial the judges asked her if she had committed the "treason" laid to her charge; to which she answered with a cheerful countenance, "Yes," and that it was a comfort to her to think she had "delivered that innocent lamb from the hands of those bloody wolves." They in vain endeavored to terrify her into confessing where the priest was; and finding threats were useless, they then promised her pardon *if she would go to Church.* But she answered that she would willingly lay down not one life, but many, rather than sin against her conscience; and so she died with wonderful constancy and cheerfulness. In 1601 Mrs. Anne Line suffered for a like offence, at Tyburn. When she was just ready to die, she addressed the spectators

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with great courage: "I am sentenced to die," she said, "for harboring a Catholic priest; and so far am I from repenting of having done it, that I wish with all my soul, that where I harbored one, I could have harbored a thousand." In 1591 Mrs. Wells received sentence of death, and died in prison. Four other Catholic gentlewomen were condemned at different times, but reprieved, two of whom obtained pardon from James I. But this by the way: in 1587 only eight victims fell; but the prisons were crowded, and in the following year nearly forty individuals, most of whom were priests, sealed their faith with their blood.

I have said little as yet of the Queen of Scots; but as her sorrows and death are closely interwoven with the sufferings of the Catholics at this time, it is necessary to make some allusion to them. All the plots which had been detected, or invented, in this reign, had for their object the deliverance of Mary, and latterly also her accession to the throne of England by the dethronement of Elizabeth. We have seen already the Parliament of 1572 calling for her execution; but ten years later an association was formed, the members of which bound themselves by oath to pursue to the death, not only

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every person who should attempt any harm against the queen, but any individual in whose behalf such attempt were made; the latter clause being evidently levelled at the Queen of Scots, whose life was thus placed at the mercy of every fanatic who might choose to believe in any pretended plot against Elizabeth. The terms of this oath were now (1584) incorporated in an act of Parliament, with the exception of the atrocious clause just mentioned. By it was secured what her enemies had so long desired—the absolute exclusion of Mary from the succession in case of any confederacy or outbreak in her favor. From this moment she felt that her doom was sealed, though to any design against the person of Elizabeth she had not been, and never was, either accessory or even privy; nay, up to this date at least, it does not appear that she had encouraged any attempts against her government. On the contrary, when the bond of association was read to her, she offered to add her own signature to the rest, so far as it was applicable to herself, and in the beginning of the year 1585 she not only, in repeated letters to Elizabeth, solemnly protested her ignorance of any such designs, but sent out a public manifesto, signed with her

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own hand, in which she declared that those who should assail the life or dignity of her good sister she would regard as enemies to herself, and would pursue them unto the death. Her life, nevertheless, was one of unceasing anxiety and alarm, which preyed deeply on her health and spirits. But these terrors were not confined to the unhappy Queen of Scots; they were shared by the whole body of the English Catholics, who were possessed with a conviction that nothing less was intended by the late enactments than a general massacre of such at least among them as were distinguished by their rank or fortune. Some, to escape destruction, entered into the household of Leicester, or other favorites of the queen; many abandoned their families and possessions, and retired beyond seas to risk their lives in the service of foreign powers.

The natural consequence of all this was a plot, and this time, at least, a real plot against Elizabeth, which had a fatal termination, not only for its contrivers but for the royal prisoner in whose behalf it was designed. This was the Babington conspiracy, the failure of which led to the execution of the Scottish queen. Its existence seems to have been known to the

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government from the first, by means of the numerous spies who, feigning themselves Catholics and Mary's most zealous partisans, disclosed every circumstance as the plot proceeded; nay, every artifice was tried to draw Mary herself into the conspiracy: so that there may be truly said to have been two conspiracies—one against the life of Elizabeth on the part of certain Catholic desperadoes, and another against the life of Mary on the part of the Protestant government. Indeed it is a question whether the design against Elizabeth was not actually suggested by Sir Francis Walsingham, a member of the government, in order to procure the destruction of the Scottish queen. Suffice it to say (for I have no space to enter into the particulars of this complicated business) the plot was allowed to proceed, or rather was carried forward, by Walsingham, who used the conspirators as his tools, till the projects were ripe for detection, and proofs of Mary's participation therein were duly prepared. Every letter conveyed to or from the Queen of Scots was first delivered to Walsingham, by whom copies were taken; after which the letter itself, or a *falsified* copy, was forwarded to its address. By this contrivance the

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secretary was enabled to connect Mary with the conspiracy, and so to bring her to the scaffold. The object of the plot was twofold: 1. a rebellion in favor of the Scottish queen; 2. the death, or "despatch," as it was called, of Elizabeth. Of the fourteen men who were arraigned for the conspiracy, three only were for the assassination of Elizabeth; three were for the liberation of Mary by force of arms; the rest were opposed to both these projects, but kept the secret of the plot not to betray their friends. The whole were executed: Elizabeth would have had them suffer some kind of death even more barbarous and savage than the usual dreadful punishment of traitors; but on being told that such a change would be illegal, she gave up her design, though only on condition that their execution were "protracted to the extremity of pain." Oh, the womanly heart of this good and gentle queen!

The long-desired victim was now ready to be sacrificed. Mary was arraigned on the same twofold charge of having conspired to procure, 1st, an invasion of the realm, and, 2d, the death of the queen. That she was a party to the former project there can be little doubt: Elizabeth's equal, and an independent sover-

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eign, she had every right to employ force of arms and the service of such allies as she could obtain to recover her personal liberty, and effect her deliverance from the enemies by whom her life was threatened. But of the latter charge she was guiltless. She was condemned to die, on the strength of forged documents, pretended copies of letters, *the originals of which were never produced.* I cannot give you here even the slightest sketch of her last sorrows and death, and the disgusting hypocrisy of Elizabeth. One only fact I will mention, which sufficiently shows the *animus* of her persecutors: she was not allowed to see a priest, to administer to her the sacraments of the Church, though she begged it as a favor in the name of Christ. They gave her a Protestant dean instead, who pestered her to her last moments, with his insulting officiousness. Mary well knew what was the real crime for which she suffered; a crime, as she said, for which she was proud to shed her blood; it was just this—her religion. Lord Buckhurst, who was commissioned to acquaint her with the sentence pronounced against her by her judges, and ratified by Parliament, let out the true ground of her condemnation, when he bade her "look for

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no mercy, for *her attachment to the Catholic faith rendered her life incompatible with the security of the reformed worship.*" This was the truth of the matter, as even Protestant historians have confessed. The death of Mary was necessary for the continuance of the Protestant succession; in other words, for the maintenance of the Protestant religion in this country.

We must now turn to the year 1588, when the famous Spanish Armada attempted the invasion of England. Many and repeated had been the insults and injuries which the King of Spain had received from Elizabeth. "She had intercepted his treasure, had given aid to his rebels, had hired foreign mercenaries to fight against his armies, and had suffered her mariners to plunder and massacre his defenceless subjects on the high seas and in his American dominions; and all this whilst professedly at peace with him. She had sent to the relief of the Belgian insurgents an English army under a general who assumed the title and authority of governor of the revolted provinces; and, after a trial, unprecedented in the annals of Europe, she had taken, on a scaffold, the life of the queen of Scots. The first was equivalent to a declaration of war, which Philip could

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not refuse to notice without the imputation of cowardice; the second was an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, which, as the most powerful of Christian monarchs, he deemed it his duty to revenge." Sixtus V., the reigning Pope, not only bestowed his blessing on the expedition, but offered a subsidy in money as soon as the invading army should have landed on the English coast. I need not repeat what has been said at length in my former number; for if Pius V. was justified in issuing a bull of excommunication and deposition against Elizabeth, Sixtus V. was equally justified in attempting its execution by the arms of Christian princes. Elizabeth, so far from staying her hand in the persecution of her Catholic people, had steeped it in the blood of the best and noblest in the land. She had shown herself a merciless tyrant, worthy only of being compared with those heathen emperors who, in the first ages of the gospel, had vented their rage against the Christian name by torturing and slaying all who bore it. But it was not the will of God that England should be recovered to the faith by the strong arm of power. Long ago He had revealed to one of her own royal saints, King Edward the Confessor, that this

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English branch of the true Church, once severed from its parent stock, should be re-united and return again to its root, the see of blessed Peter, not by any human force, but "without the help of any man's hand;" and so the attempt failed utterly, and the *invincible* Armada (as the pride of Spain had styled it) was scattered, not indeed by England's prowess, but by the "winds and storms," which "fulfil God's word."

And now, what did the Catholics of this country do? I do not ask what they might, or ought to have done, but simply what they did do. What the Protestants would have done in like case, we need not go far to seek. When they felt themselves oppressed by their Catholic king, James II., they did what ever since they have not ceased to pride themselves upon; they brought in the Dutchman, William, at the head of his Dutch troops, against their rightful monarch, and they set him up on the throne of these realms, cut off the Catholic succession, and established Protestant ascendancy in Church and State. If Protestants then were justified in giving liberty to themselves and their religion by the help of troops from Holland, Catholics might lawfully have done the same by

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the help of troops from Spain. If Protestants did well in transferring their allegiance from James to William, Prince of Orange, the Catholics would equally have done well in transferring their allegiance from Elizabeth to Philip King of Spain. Nay, they would have done better; for who will say that James was an equal tyrant to Elizabeth? Did he treat his Protestant subjects as Elizabeth treated her Catholic subjects? Did he disgrace the statute books of this realm with a series of penal laws at which humanity shudders? Did he drive his Protestant people to the Catholic Churches by dint of fines and threats of life-long imprisonment? Did he make it high treason to deny the Pope's supremacy? or inflict the terrible death of traitors on such as performed the Protestant service, or said prayers after Protestant fashion? Did he entrap, and then torture and murder Protestant ministers, and all such as harbored or relieved them? I grant you he did many arbitrary and illegal actions; but will any one pretend to say that the Protestants had as urgent reasons for leaguing with the Dutchman, as Catholics had for joining the invading armies of Spain? However, as I have said, the question here is not what the

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Catholics might, or ought to have done, but what they did do. As a fact, then, they did not join the invader; on the contrary, they sided with Elizabeth; and now mark the return they got for what both Protestant and Catholic historians have called their "loyalty and patriotism"*—more insults and worse injuries.

While the Armada was only in preparation, and even before it was ascertained that its object was the invasion of England, it was suggested by some of the queen's advisers, that all the principal Catholics in the country should be put to death. Such advice was too inhuman even for Elizabeth; but though she would not

* Mr. Hallam, totally unconscious, as it would seem, that his intended compliment was one of the very worst insults he could offer to their religious faith and conscientiousness, observes with much simplicity, that "the Catholics, in every county, repaired to the standard of the lord lieutenant, imploring that they might not be suspected of bartering the national independence for *their religion itself*." That is to say, according to this writer, they begged it to be understood that they were ready to put by their religion—the faith of Christ, the Church He founded, that for which St. Paul counted all things else but dung—rather than let a Spaniard rule in England. This is what Protestants mean by patriotism. Christ says (Matt. vi. 33), "Seek first the kingdom of God;" Protestantism says, "Seek first the national glory—'the national independence!'"

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take their lives, she deprived them of their liberty. All convicted recusants were committed to safe custody: a return of "persons suspected for religion" was required from the magistrates of London; these alone amounted to 17,083, whilst the total number of persons capable of bearing arms within the same district is stated at no more than 30,000. In several counties, perhaps in all, the houses of the gentry were searched; crowds of Catholics, of both sexes, and of every rank, were dragged to the common jails; and the Protestant clergy from their pulpits vehemently declaimed against the tyranny of the Pope, and the treachery of the Papists. Even this did not succeed in driving the Catholics to rebellion. "In that agony of the Protestant faith and English name," says Hallam, "they stood the trial of their spirits, without swerving from their allegiance." "Some," says Hume, "entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army; some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to Protestants; others were active in animating their tenants, vassals, and neighbors to the defence of their country; while the very men whom the queen had imprisoned, addressed letters to the council, in

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which they spoke of Elizabeth as "their undoubted lady and queen," and expressed "their readiness to fight till death in her cause against all her enemies, were they kings, or priests, or pope, or any other potentate whatsoever."

And when the invaders were repelled, and their Armada scattered to the winds, how fared these "loyal" Catholics, who had shown such devoted attachment to their country's queen? Surely now at last, when it was proved to demonstration that nothing was to be dreaded from their numbers, their courage, or even their desperation, if not for gratitude sake, yet out of very contempt, they would be let live in peace. Ah, little do you know the untiring hatred of Elizabeth and her Protestant advisers against the professors of the ancient faith. "She celebrated her triumph," writes Lingard, "with the immolation of human victims. A commission was issued; a selection was made from the Catholics in prison on account of religion; and six clergymen were indicted for their priestly character; four laymen for having been reconciled to the Catholic Church; and four others (among whom was Mrs. Ward, the gentlewoman before mentioned), for having aided and harbored priests. All these immediately,

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and fifteen of their companions, within the next three months, suffered the cruel and infamous punishment of traitors. It was not so much as whispered that they had been guilty of any act of disloyalty. On their trials nothing was objected to them but the practice of their religion."

"From the arrival of the Armada till the death of the queen, during the lapse of fourteen years, the Catholics groaned under the pressure of incessant persecution. Sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen, suffered capital punishment for some one or other of the spiritual felonies and treasons which had been lately created. Generally the court dispensed with the examination of witnesses; by artful and ensnaring questions, an avowal was drawn from the prisoner that he had been reconciled or had harbored a priest, or had been ordained beyond the sea, or that he admitted the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope, or rejected that of the queen. Any one of these *crimes* was sufficient to consign him to the scaffold. Life, indeed, was always offered on the condition of conformity to the established worship (a fact which shows that the persecution was purely a religious one), but the offer was gene-

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rally refused; the refusal was followed by death; and the butchery, with very few exceptions, was performed on the victim *while he was yet in perfect possession of his senses.*" There are several lists made at the time of priests who were thus cruelly murdered in this reign (that is, from 1573 to 1603), either for being priests or for exercising the functions of the priesthood. The lowest account puts them at 128 in all, viz. 119 secular priests, 7 Jesuits, 1 monk, and 1 friar. Moreover, 56 men and 3 women are recorded as having been executed as felons, for the crime (as it was called) of harboring and relieving priests, or other causes connected solely with religion; besides 42 persons, clergymen and laymen, who died of their sufferings in prison. And be it remarked that the bloodiest—the most "golden"—time of all was that which elapsed from the defeat of the Armada to the death of Elizabeth, when (as Protestants have allowed) all danger of rebellion was at an end; and even the plea of state necessity could not be alleged in excuse for religious persecution.

But a bare list of deaths and executions, rackings and imprisonments, can give you but a very faint idea of the sufferings of the Cath-

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olics during all these years. Who shall describe the constant alarms, the torturing suspense, the mental agonies, which were the lot, not merely of this or that family at this or that time, but of whole multitudes of the faithful from day to day, and week to week? Or who shall calculate the amount of privation, positive destitution, and ruin, which was caused by the exaction of the perpetually recurring fine for nonconformity? The horrors of the rack, the halter, and the ripping-knife affected, by comparison, but a small portion of the Catholic population; *this* was the grievance which pressed on all. None but men of ample fortune could afford to pay a fine of £20 thirteen times a year: most of the gentry were forced to sell large portions of their estates to meet the continual demand; and if they fell into arrears, the queen, as we have seen, had power to seize their goods and lands every six months. Escape was impossible: the government constantly called for fresh returns of the names and property of recusants; and the only expedient was to get some favorite to persuade the queen to accept a yearly composition instead of the monthly fines—an indulgence, however, which was much disliked by the heads of the Estab-

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lished Church. But even thus they were not safe from exactions. Every time they heard Mass, you must remember, they were liable to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 100 marks; indeed they might think themselves lucky if they were let off so easy, for it all depended on the particular statute under which they were indicted, whether they were mulcted in their goods, imprisoned for life, or hanged as felons. If there were but a rumor of invasion, they were confined, at their own charges, in the county jail, were separately taxed to levy soldiers, and on being discharged from prison, were either forced to remain in the custody of Protestants, or, if allowed to return home, forbidden to stir more than five miles from their own doors. This was the law of 1593, by which it was ordered that all Popish recusants above sixteen years of age, should repair, within forty days, to their usual place of dwelling, and there remain; nor dare to go five miles from home without a written license from the bishop of the diocese, or deputy-lieutenant of the county, on pain of forfeiting their goods, and the profits of their lands for life.

Thus it was with men of property. The poorer Catholics were at first thrown into

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prison; but the jails became so crammed, and so many complaints were made of the expense of their maintenance, that the queen at last ordered them to be discharged as the magistrates might see fit. From some nothing more was required than a promise of good behavior, that is, of coming to the Protestant Church on Sundays; some had their ears bored with a hot iron; others were publicly whipped. The numbers were so great that, at one sessions in Hampshire 400 recusants, and at the assizes in Lancashire 600, were presented. Cooper, "Bishop" of Winchester, humbly petitioned the queen that "a hundred or two lusty men, well able to labor, might be sent into Flanders as pioneers and laborers for the armies!" But in 1593 it was enacted that all recusants, not possessing twenty marks a year, should conform, within three months after conviction, or leave the country, under the penalty of felony, if they were found afterwards at large. This was a happy expedient for getting rid of those out of whom no money could be got; but its injustice was too monstrous to be regularly acted upon, and the magistrates contented themselves with visiting particular districts from time to time, and levying such sums as

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they pleased from the poorest Catholics in place of the whole legal fine.

The domiciliary visits not only continued, but became far more frequent. The priest-catchers would force their way into the houses of the Catholics at any hour of the day or the night, on any mere idle suspicion—as, for instance, the arrival of some one who was unknown to the neighbors; or at the instance of some enemy of the family, simply for the sake of insult and annoyance—often, indeed, for the sole purpose of plunder, or with the hope of getting the reward which was offered for the apprehension of a priest. It was thus impossible for English Catholics to live in peace in their own country, however secluded or harmless their lives might be; and they could not retire to a foreign land without forfeiting their estates. In 1584 fifty gentlemen's houses were entered on the same night, and almost all the owners dragged off to prison. Cooper, the Protestant "bishop" just mentioned, wished these visits to take place every three weeks or month! This wish of the good prelate, though it was not executed to the letter, was satisfactorily fulfilled in the spirit, as you may convince yourselves by reading some of the nar-

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ratives written at the time, which have since been printed;* nor is there an old Catholic family in the country which does not possess records of similar outrages, in which their relatives were sufferers in this reign, as well as in those which followed. As late as 1591 the queen issued a proclamation ordering all householders to make returns of every single person who had entered their doors for the last twelve months, and to declare whether they knew of any one who absented himself from the Protestant service. A general order was, at the same time, given to search for missionary priests, and such as had been reconciled to the Church, or, as the preamble expressed it, "withdrawn from their allegiance," by their means.

With an allusion to Elizabeth's last act towards her Catholic subjects, I must now conclude this history. The Catholics towards the close of her reign were divided in opinion as to who should be the queen's successor: some were for Mary's son, James, King of Scotland (who, in fact, at Elizabeth's death, became King of England); others were for his cousin, Ara-

* See, for instance, those given in Dodd's *Church History*, vol. v. of Tierney's edition.

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bella Stuart. Disputes arose among them about ecclesiastical affairs, which were referred to Rome. The government secretly supported the former party, because they regarded it as the more "patriotic" of the two, that is, less devoted to the Pope, and more subservient to the state. But no sooner did the Puritans get a hint of what was going on, than they accused the ministry of a design to tolerate the Catholic religion. To repudiate at once so shocking an idea, Elizabeth sent out a proclamation, in which she divided the Catholic clergy into two parts; one, that of the Jesuits and their friends; the other, that of the secular priests; and commanded the former to depart out of the kingdom within thirty days, but graciously accorded to the latter the longer space of three months. Any priest found in England at the end of these respective periods was to die a traitor's death, as the law directed. At the same time she complained that, in consequence of her clemency (!) to both these classes of men, they had even dared "to walk the streets at noonday," and had otherwise so demeaned themselves as to breed a suspicion that she proposed *to grant a toleration of two religions*, though God knew she was ignorant of any such

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imagination. A set of special commissioners, with the "archbishop" at their head, was appointed (January, 1603) to carry the royal orders into effect, who had power to call before them every priest they pleased, whether he were in prison or at large, and without observing any of the usual forms of trial, to banish him the kingdom under such conditions as they might choose to name. Such was the state of misery to which the Catholics were reduced, that, tyrannical as these proceedings were, yet simply because a difference was made between one class and another, and a certain discretion left to the judges as to the conditions to be imposed, they were hailed by many as the beginning of better things! Once more was a "loyal address" sent up to the queen, in the hope of obtaining some little meed of justice; but it never reached her hands. Elizabeth was on her death-bed, dying as those only can die who have faith in nothing. She could not—how could she?—believe in the religion she had herself established; a blank despair had settled on her soul; frightful visions haunted her; she felt herself in the grasp of some evil thing, from which there was no escaping. Almost her last words were, "I am tied with an iron

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collar about my neck: I am tied, and the case is altered with me."

I have had but one object in this and the two preceding Tracts—to show you that the persecution which the Catholics of England endured in this reign was essentially a *religious* persecution. For this reason I have scrupulously adhered to the order of events, from which it is manifest that Elizabeth was no sooner on the throne than she began to threaten and coerce her Catholic people, who not only acknowledged her title from the first, but conducted themselves as peaceful and unoffending subjects. If the Pope at length labored to depose her, it was because she was a tyrant and a persecutor of the faith. If, as time went on, many plotted and rebelled against her, it was because of her increasing cruelty. But what I would most insist upon is this, that religious toleration was not, as people fancy, a principle of the so-called Reformation; that, on the contrary, Elizabeth established Protestantism in this country by making the profession of the Catholic faith felony by law, and enforcing that law in the most ruthless manner. To say, as Protestant writers have said, that the priests and others, whom she put to death for saying

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or hearing Mass, were executed for treason, and not purely for their religion, is a wicked falsehood, or a disingenuous quibble. "Treason," says Hallam, "by the law of England, and according to the common use of language, is the crime of rebellion or conspiracy against the government. If a statute is made by which the celebration of certain religious rites is subjected to the same penalties as rebellion or conspiracy, would any man, free from prejudice, and not designing to impose upon the uninformed, speak of persons convicted on such a statute as guilty of treason, without expressing in what sense he uses the words, or deny that they were as truly punished for their religion, as if they had been convicted of heresy? A man is punished for religion when he incurs a penalty for its profession or exercise, to which he was not liable on any other account. This is applicable to the great majority of capital convictions on this score under Elizabeth. The persons convicted could not be traitors in any fair sense of the word, because they were not chargeable with any thing properly denominated treason."

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The Sovereign Pontiff therefore with great pleasure encourages you in your course by this letter, and returns you his thanks for the gift, which you offer.

I am moreover ordered to transmit a gold medal which the same benign Pontiff sends, impressed with his august effigy, and with it, as a pledge of his paternal and especial affection towards you, his Apostolic blessing, which as an auspice of all heavenly good, he lovingly grants you with the most sincere affection of his heart.

I have only to profess my respects to you, Gentlemen, on whom I earnestly implore all that is saving and propitious from our Lord.

Gentlemen,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

DOMINIC FIORAMONTI,

Rome, July 6th, 1858. *Latin Secretary to his Holiness.*

To E. DUNIGAN & BROTHER, New York.

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